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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

The National Municipal League Announces Its

47th Annual

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON GOVERNMENT

November 17, 18, and 19

St. Louis, Missouri

Headquarters: **Hotel Statler**

It Can Be Done

"The outstanding success achieved by East Cleveland's city government is revealed again by its annual report.

"For thirteen consecutive years the municipality has reduced its bonded debt, cutting it from $3,000,000 to $676,000. For twenty-three years our little neighbor has lived within her income. In all that time she has discounted bills, has paid all salaries and other obligations on time. The per capita fire loss in 1940 was 67 cents as compared with a national average of $2.10. Traffic safety was a city cause last year and not a fatal accident occurred.

"The economy and efficiency in striking evidence in all activities of the government are the products of a non-political manager plan. The commissioners are elected on a nonpartisan ballot. Thus party rivalry does not exist, so there is no need of expensive spoils for party rewards.

"East Cleveland was settled as early as Cleveland. The first church was built in 1807, and John Shaw built his school in 1835, but the village was not carved out of Euclid Township until 1895.

"The present form of government was adopted in 1918, and its accomplishments are due in large measure to one man, Manager Charles A. Carran, who served as finance director from 1918 to 1923, then was elevated to his present position."

Editorial, *Cleveland Plain Dealer.*

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Subtle Benefit of Smoke Abatement

IN THE midst of wars and alarms several cities are making more progress than ever in smoke abatement efforts. One of these is St. Louis where people had come to feel that their ever-present pall of smoke was in the same class as the weather, about which, as Mark Twain once said, everybody talks but no one does anything.

St. Louis adopted *and enforced* an anti-smoke ordinance, with results so numerous it would take quite a survey to list them all.

While most St. Louisans were adding up the reported savings on drapery cleaning bills, laundry, house cleaning, health, soap, and dispositions, a philosophical professor surveyed the scene and was struck by what he saw in minds and attitudes.

"I think the greatest gain," he said, "is in the fact that the people have discovered they can accomplish something. They complained about the smoke for two generations or more and everybody agreed 'there ought to be a law'; but, in their hearts most people thought it was inevitable, like taxes. I believe this accomplishment will bolster the people's confidence in their ability to make things happen. Just as the air has been made clearer, so will be the path to other progress."

Planning to Cushion the "Shock" of Peace

IT IS encouraging that, in the midst of defense preparations, we are finding it possible to plan for the future without self-consciously fearing it is weak to think of anything apart from the tools of war. Long-range programs are in preparation, some of them conscious and deliberate, some instinctive and involuntary.

One program which promises much is the National Resources Planning Board's many-sided plan for the post-war period: to demobilize the armed forces and return them to peace-time work, to help defense industry readjust itself, to save national income from a disastrous slump, to finance post-war relief work, to help rehabilitate devastated nations, and, above all, to compile a reservoir of worthwhile, carefully thought-out projects so that, if "made work" becomes necessary, they will result in worthwhile capital assets rather than mere excuses to put money into circulation.

There is a cue for cities in this reservoir idea. Spending for non-essentials by cities, counties, and states will be frowned upon more and more as the cost of the defense program begins to be felt by the average taxpayer. City administrations will be wiser, practically and politically, if they learn to say "later" instead of "no" to public works proposed

now. This will make it easier to subject proposals to careful scrutiny, to classify them in the order of their importance, and to insure careful and detailed planning.

A few cities already have been doing this as a matter of good business; others will do it out of necessity. Pressure groups will be hampered in their technique of rushing ill-considered projects through. Worthy projects which lack emotional appeal and the support of special-interest groups will, on the other hand, have a better than usual opportunity to succeed on their merits.

And finally, those cities which neglected long-term plans during the lush third decade of this century may still remember how they were left at the post during the depression when federal aid was offered first to cities which were ready with mature, soundly-planned projects.

Trained Men in Local Defense Groups

GOOD horse sense is being demonstrated by some cities which, in organizing to handle defense problems, provide cohesion and professional leadership by using regular department officials as the core of the new arrangement.

This is no criticism of many local defense councils made up largely of prominent private citizens. It is simply practical recognition of the fact that actual defense will be a matter of ability to do specific jobs rather than a matter of patriotism or of the esteem with which a community holds certain persons.

"No workable civil defense program is possible," insists the *United States Municipal News*, "unless it has for its foundation the existing municipal fire, police, health, public works, utilities, and other related departments."

This seems logical enough but it does not tell the whole story. There is still the paramount need of unifying public opinion. This usually is accomplished better by the non-expert civic leader than by the technician, a truth which was pithily stated some years ago by an acknowledged expert when he said, "An expert should be on tap, not on top."

Nevertheless, many cities will tend to rely more on experts as problems in connection with the defense emergency become difficult.

Recently a Municipal Defense Council, with the mayor as ex-officio chairman and the city manager as executive secretary, was established in Sacramento, California; and in Schenectady, New York, which already had a local citizen Defense Advisory Council, there was created a Municipal Emergency Advisory Board with the city manager as chairman and with other municipal officials as members.

These two cities, which already have good records of peacetime accomplishment, probably are setting a pattern which will be widely followed, especially if the emergency becomes more acute and our cities face war conditions. There will, of course, be civilian auxiliaries, as there are in England; but recognized municipal officials will finally have to take control. This fact might just as well be faced early as late.

The Wave of the Future for Local Government

"At a time when the public debt and tax rates are rising to unheard of heights can we afford the waste incidental to the present conduct of public affairs?"

By WILLIAM E. MOSHER
Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs
Syracuse University

DUE TO our unshakable faith in the impregnability of ocean barriers and our deep-seated confidence in American destiny which teaches us that never having been invaded we never can be invaded, national defense is at the present writing not much more than a resounding slogan. It carries no mandate. It demands no sacrifices. For the great majority of American citizens "business as usual" is descriptive of their day by day behaviors. Even such agencies as the local defense councils, which have been established to meet the crisis that is upon us, are for the most part casting about for worthwhile projects. They are all dressed up with no place to go.

But the wave of the future is about to become the wave of the present in this land of ours. In Europe it is the wave of the present as nation after nation, almost month by month, is engulfed in it. Those who know their history appreciate that this so-called wave of the future is a recurrent wave that rises whenever a powerful chauvinistic nation or tribe finds the requisite leadership. Alexander, Attila, Caesar, and Napoleon each rode on this self-same wave. Their achievements, however, pale into insignificance as compared with those of the present leader of the German people. Their rate of motion was determined by the speed of a horse; their communications were far from instantaneous; their most destructive missiles were small cannon balls. Some of them dreamed of world conquest, but none of them could reckon practically with such a possibility. Hitler has not alone dreamed and reckoned with it, but he has also made substantial strides toward achieving it.

It is of primary importance that we school ourselves to believe that the pace and possible scope of conquest have been revolutionized by the mechanical inventions of the past two decades. A modern Germany cannot alone take the "best army in the world" into camp within three short weeks, but it can hold a former world power in subjugation to such a degree that French factories and French workmen produce a third of the munitions used by the German armed forces. The present recurrent wave of conquest differs from those of the past, not in spirit or purpose, but in methods employed and potential scope. For such reasons this wave is a present, yes even an im-

mediate, menace to American independence.

If this is understood, it behooves us to become aware of the imperatives of national defense. It is my personal belief that these imperatives should now and inevitably will affect everyone, whatever his walk in life. The mandate of the near future may not be "guns instead of butter," but it will approximate it. Slackness, wastes and inefficiencies should not be tolerated today anywhere in the name of national well-being; they cannot be tolerated tomorrow under the pressures of national defense. The former consideration makes it desirable and the latter makes it imperative that we review organizations, methods of management, and procedures of all major institutions both private and public. This paper has to do with the public sphere, particularly that of local government.

Local Government Costly

Taken all together local governments constitute one of the most essential and one of the most costly enterprises in American society. If the services performed by them should suddenly be suspended for even a month, a chaotic situation would result throughout the land. On the cost side, expenditures approximated in 1938 some seven billions of dollars or over one-tenth of the national income. If service standards can be improved or even a small percentage of this huge amount saved by the adoption of feasible economies, those responsible for or interested in local government might contribute their bit to national well-being and national defense. This suggestion is advanced not alone as something which might well be done, but as something mandated by the "national total emergency."

Anyone acquainted with the changes that have taken place in local government in the past two decades is aware of the material advances that have been made in certain jurisdictions through the adoption of better integrated organizations, improved personnel standards, and more up-to-date methods and procedures in operations. There has been an increasing professionalization of local government services, as witness the seventeen or eighteen organizations of local officials having their headquarters under the roof of the Public Administration Clearing House at Chicago.

But the majority of local governments has remained almost untouched by these advances. They are still moving along in the traditional ruts. Departmental heads, often a group of floaters, are qualified politically rather than professionally. Even the local civil service commission is often tied in with the dominant political party.

In nearly all localities local residence is a prerequisite to appointment. This makes for amateurism in positions calling for technical proficiency. It is notorious that amateurs usually stick close to traditional and often outmoded methods; they lack imagination and ingenuity and the initiative necessary to modify established procedures. It has been estimated that if progressive administrative policies and measures, thor-

oughly approved in experience, were adopted in such backward municipalities and other local jurisdictions, from 10 to 20 per cent of the operating budget might be saved. There are hundreds of local governments to which this observation applies.

If local defense councils are looking for a man-sized job worthy of their mettle, they will find it ready to hand. Their first step would be to engineer an administrative survey by a competent agency. With recommendations for changes as suggested through surveys of this sort, members of the defense council can then take the second step which would be to bring their influence to bear on politicians, officials and citizens to the end that such recommendations are adopted.

California Investigates

In this connection attention may well be called to a state-wide investigation of the organization, personnel, and operating methods of some 230 municipalities in California. This program was recently launched by the League of California Cities. Local investigations are to be made on the basis of questionnaires set up by the California league with the aid of the National Youth Administration. The former organization will then compile the data, set up comparisons and generalizations, and propose such recommendations for improvements as sound practice dictates.

If the State Councils of National Defense should sponsor a program of this sort, using the aid of local councils and the coöperation of competent agencies specializing in governmental matters, constructive programs might be formulated that would apply to many, if not all, jurisdictions in a given state. The test of this pudding would be in the willingness of local councils to do something about it, each in its own area. Here is something of a very practical sort that might conceivably result in increased citizen satisfactions and the saving of tens of millions of dollars.

One recommendation that will inevitably be made as a result of any worthwhile survey is the elimination of local residence as a condition of appointment to positions calling for technical skills and experience. Business concerns scour the country to secure able managers and department heads. But local governments which are practically always one of the largest businesses in any community and no less technical than the typical business enterprise, are accustomed to content themselves with local talent. Perhaps for this reason more than any other do so many intelligent business men accept incompetency and unprogressiveness in local government as a matter of course. How serious such incompetence is was stated by an English expert in local government who visited a good sampling of American municipalities several years ago. His comment ran somewhat as follows: "We Europeans could not afford to run our cities as inefficiently as American cities seem to be run, allowing for some exceptions. We simply haven't the wherewithal." We Americans have afforded the extravagance of incompetency in the past. Can we

afford it in the critical present and the menacing future?

Let us now turn to what two decades ago was called "the dark continent of American government," that is, the county. Apart from a very few bright spots, this area is as dark today as it was in 1920. Generally speaking, county governments in the United States hark back to a distant past as far removed from the present as is the one-horse shay from a streamlined motor car. No rational person, even the incumbents of county offices, would undertake publicly to defend the typical organization of the county. It is literally beneath criticism. The governing body is unnecessarily large and consequently unwieldy. In its administrative capacity it is without a head and executive leadership. It is regularly flanked by several elective officials who function more or less "on their own." Even in some large counties spending millions of dollars per year, and in most small ones, the operating staff consists in part of part-time officials who, politically speaking, have seen better days, and professionally speaking have seen few if any good ones.

Finally, the methods and policies of most county governments are as out-dated as the dodo whether one considers the handling of personnel and assessments or of purchasing and supplies. When it is noted that the total annual expenditures of the 3,000 and more counties in the country exceed one and a quarter billions, it is apparent that the elimination of waste in this sector of public management would net a tidy sum.

Probably the most disheartening feature with respect to the county and other such local jurisdictions as villages and towns is the utter apathy of most of the voters when suggestions are made for improvements. In one county after another efforts have been made to bring about changes as recommended by legislative and other competent agencies, but almost always to no avail. The typical citizen either does not understand or doesn't care, or both, while a considerable group has a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. In a New York State county, for example, a referendum on reorganization was held in the 1940 election. Although the proposed plan was sponsored by a committee appointed by the dominant political party and was long overdue, only some 40,000 votes were cast for or against the proposition, while the total votes for the presidential candidates exceeded 160,000. Approximately three out of four voters were not sufficiently interested in home rule to pull a lever on the voting machine.

Local Elections Neglected

This is by no means an isolated instance of apathy in local matters and interest in national ones. As a matter of fact, practically all available statistics go to show that fewer registered voters take the trouble to cast their ballots in local elections than they do in elections of either state or federal representatives. This seems highly incongruous in view of their first-hand acquaintance with the local scene, of the immediate influence of local services on the voters

and their families, not to forget their pocketbooks, and in view of their direct responsibility for the success of local government.

Local self-government, home rule and the like have long been dinned into the ears of school boys and girls and adult audiences. But on the evidence of votes cast and practical interest shown in local affairs, such "rousements" have fallen on many a deaf ear. For a great body of citizens their local patriotism consists in casting a vote on election day. With that act their duty is done. Until the next election the government literally belongs to the administrators and the party in control. For the most part the officials fail even to render an account to their citizen stockholders. The law requires them, it is true, to present a budget each year, but who reads or can understand this report as published in the newspapers? Who takes the trouble to attend the prescribed public hearings on the budget?

Incentive Needed

It is small wonder that local officials are content to tread well-worn paths, to fill up their ranks with the mediocre and untalented. What incentive have they to do otherwise? What incentive do young people of ability and promise have to enter local public service? Salaries are inequitable and none too high, opportunities for advancement are limited, particularly when the upper tier of positions is reserved for political appointees—local residents all. Of distinction there is none, of humdrum there is much. Over the portals of most county buildings might well be inscribed Dante's famous words: "Abandon hope all ye who enter here." Under such auspices is managed one of the largest business enterprises in most counties of the country, the county business.

Making due allowance for exceptional cases, the public business in local areas is carried on in ways that are partially obsolete, in part slipshod and wasteful, and all too generally in a thoroughly unprogressive and undemocratic manner. We believe in democracy defined as self-government. A corner stone of our educational system is to convince the on-coming generations of youth of the fundamental rightness and desirability of self-government.[1] But outside the class room they learn that politics for the most part is a messy kind of business. The calling of politicians is not altogether a savory one in many circles. Is it strange then that the more intelligent and better trained class of young people does not go in for politics? Their fathers would not run for public office "on a bet." We in this democracy offer an almost perfect contrast to the situation which prevailed in Greece where the Greek city-states, the prototypes of modern democracy, once flourished. Of their citizens it was said that they united each in his own person interest in private and public affairs and also that the man who took no part in public affairs was "to be regarded not as one who

[1]Incidentally it may be noted that the lowest percentage of voters in all age groups is found in the youngest, i.e., that between twenty and thirty years old.

minds his own business, but as one who is good for nothing."

If self-government means anything, it must mean that the public business is everybody's business. To make it one's business requires something more than casting a ballot every year or two. This is directly comparable to sending in a proxy annually to the central office of a company in which one holds stock. The stockholder usually doesn't know to whom he is giving his share of control, nor does he know how the proxy holder will use it. Filling out the proxy is largely a perfunctory affair. The stockholder has done his duty and there is an end to it. "If dividends are paid, well and good; if not, it is just too bad. Perhaps things will pick up another year."

Politicians Control

The voter's situation differs from that of the stockholder in this respect that he does have a choice between two candidates for any given office. But he may know little or nothing about the rival candidates and he may be sure that the first loyalty of all candidates will be not to him and his kind, but to the party leaders who set up the slates. With them is lodged the real control of government whether local, state, or national. But how they secure and maintain their grip on things is beyond the ken of most American citizens and surely outside their sphere of influence, or so they believe. Even when knowing better, they are loath to exert themselves to the point of doing anything about it.

On such grounds we may say that self-government in the United States is in most jurisdictions nothing to brag about; in many, it is a pretty sorry affair. Let no one think that the apathetic citizenry does not pay a high price for letting government be run by proxy. High costs are not due to the old-fashioned form of money graft, but rather to contract graft and position graft. The latter results in appointment of mediocre, if not downright incompetent, officials both to important and unimportant posts. It also results in the nomination of elective officials, so many of whom lack the mental calibre necessary to cope with the staggering problems of public policy with which governments are now confronted. The unprogressive character of the management of the public business is thus directly traceable to the apathy of the electorate.

Aside from exceptional cases, we are governed by party-minded and self-interested party leaders; we are self-governed in name, not in fact, and will be until we take over the parties and make of them instruments for modernizing the organization and administration of city, town, village, and county governments. It is recognized that this is a long-run program and that it involves a recasting of attitudes and patterns of political behavior which is not likely to come about generally until our educational methods are revamped.

In the meantime, however, under the stress of defense needs and staggering increases in the tax burden which now impend, the more intelligent and public-spirited citizens can

(Continued on Page 556)

Nebraska's One-House Legislature — After Six Years

"Having observed the old way and the new, I unequivocally say that the new way is immeasurably the better."

By HARRY T. DOBBINS
Nebraska State Journal

THE Nebraska unicameral legislature recently finished its third regular session. The unicameral body was created by a constitutional amendment, adopted in 1935, which substituted a one-house legislature of from thirty to fifty members for a law-making body composed of a house of one hundred members and a senate of thirty-three members. Using the authority given by the amendment the last bicameral legislature fixed the membership at forty-three, a figure which came closest to securing equal district representation.

Members of the bicameral were paid $800 a biennium for their services. As the constitutional amendment limits to $75,000 the amount that can be paid in salaries to members for a biennium, the number of members—which may be changed by law at any session within the limits fixed—determines the individual salary. Under the present setup this salary is $1,744 for the two-year period, with no additional pay for extra sessions.

Representation is based upon population. This gives the counties of Douglas and Lancaster, in which are located respectively the cities of Omaha and Lincoln, a total of ten members. With one exception all the other districts are made up of from two to ten counties. The speaker now in office, R. M. Howard, represents the ten-county district.

Committee work is divided among ten groups composed of from five to eleven members each. In addition there is a committee on enrollment and review, whose duties are confined to seeing that pending legislation is properly arranged, that the phraseology is correct, and that it is properly correlated to existing statutes; a committee on committees, which selects the membership of the standing committees; and a committee on rules.

As with all pioneering efforts, various criticisms of the unicameral legislature have developed since its adoption in 1937.

Those heard most frequently are that members are elected on a nonpartisan ballot and that the membership is too small, that election on a party ticket enables the people to fix responsibility whereas nonpartisan election confers upon a small group the task of operating without any mandate solely on the basis of individual judgment.

It is quite true that a number of the members possess a yearning and a desire to have somebody else tell them what to do, and thus relieve

them of the burden of personal responsibility for their acts, or a desire to get organized backing. It is the old cry that the unicameral cannot furnish leadership of its own and that there should be party responsibility. But suppose the party declines responsibility. It has been doing that for years.

The proof lies in the examination of the platforms adopted last year preceding the election of members of the legislature. The Republican party, on state issues, declared for amendment of the primary law; so did the Democrats. The Republicans condemned the Democratic state administration for the extravagance with which it was charged; the Democrats commended the same administration for the rigid economy it had practiced; the Republicans declared for local administration of relief and public assistance and for a fair distribution of state highway funds, while the Democrats declared for limited civil service without stating a limit, for a minimum hour and wage law for women, and for adequate salaries for teachers without saying what is an adequate salary.

Issues Not Political

What sad befuddlement would have overwhelmed the members had they been elected as Republicans or Democrats when they faced the big controversial issues of the session: licensing of osteopathists to do operative surgery, a small loans law, gasoline tax refund for farmers, an unfair trades practices act, none of which was contained in the party platforms. Furthermore, could even the tyro in politics conjure up a party convention which would declare itself against teachers' retirement, against strict regulation of small loan companies, for or against tax refunds to farmers, or for an act designed to fix and freeze prices? The answer is that there are few state issues to divide along party lines.

In my view the unicameral system, which requires a candidate for the legislature to get out on his own power and contact the people whom he asks to represent, enables him to get a better knowledge of what his constituents think and want; and his constituents will be much more content with him if he faithfully and intelligently represents them, than with a man who, when questioned about his stand on a pending measure, proudly points to his party's platform and says: "There's where I stand; blame it, not me."

This party responsibility idea is a fetish, originally devised as a whip to hold party legislators in line and used and usable as a false front behind which timid-minded legislators may hide. Party platforms are written by party leaders and dictated by the head of the ticket. They contain what he and they regard as vote-catching pledges and promises and, as will be seen by the references just made to those adopted last year, they present no real issues. I have seen spokesmen whose duty it is to act as bellwether or sheepherder for a governor who has an eye on a senate seat. I have seen party leaders acting as lobbyists standing in the wings and directing action by messenger service or by calling members to their

side. This is alien leadership, not leadership within the body of lawmakers.

The notion that there can be no leadership in the unicameral legislature itself is without basis of fact. Each session of the unicameral has brought a gradual rise in the average ability and intelligence of members. The pay of $1,744 for the two-year term, for sessions averaging five months, makes it possible to secure the services of men of character and ability who can spare that time away from their private affairs, enables the members to be independent of the lobby which is always ready to dine and wine, and permits a member to devote necessary time to legislation.

Leadership Evident

It is self-evident that no legislature could turn out 202 laws without leadership. It is quite true that the independence which is the possession of unicameral legislators breeds a distrust of efforts of any member or members to assume leadership, and a general inclination to beat down the ears of one who seeks to assume that role. Yet leadership is slowly but surely emerging, leadership of a definite kind, based upon powers of logic and persuasion combined with a knowledge of facts and intelligence able to point out the results of proposed action.

Two years ago an effort was made to increase the number of members to eighty-six, double the present membership. It failed. No attempt has been made to renew the movement.

One argument in support of a larger membership is that with the present limitation all interests and areas are not represented.

Anyone with a critical knowledge of the operations of the bicameral system is aware that the best work was done by the small senate, while the house of one hundred members was unwieldy and added to the chaos of conflict that surrounded attempted legislation.

It is urged that the smaller number makes it possible for the lobby to operate with greater success, that with only forty-three members to concentrate upon, the pressure is increased. Lobbying takes two forms —that by representatives of vested interests whose status is menaced at each legislative session and who stay from beginning to end, and the pressure groups, such as teachers, firemen, members of the professions, bankers and merchants, who come and go as the tide of legislation flows. Much might be said upon the question. It is undeniable that the lobbyists prevent much bad legislation, and also some good legislation. The fact that almost to a man they oppose the unicameral system is significant. With only one house there are, of course, no conference committees, and it was the conference committee, meeting in secret, that was the lobbyist's most effective weapon. Through it disagreements between the two houses could be utilized to kill off legislation. It was in the closing days of the bicameral that most of the important measures hung in the balance, and the conference committee was often their burying ground.

The theory of the bicameral is that

it afforded a check against hasty and ill-formed legislation. In practice it greatly encouraged log-rolling and bill-trading. While trading is not absent from the unicameral, it possesses checks equally if not more effective than those of the bicameral body. As it is operated the members have three chances at a bill, in committee of the whole, on special file, and on third reading. If a measure passes the committee of the whole, it goes to a special committee which has in its employ a lawyer selected for his ability to detect constitutional imperfections. This special committee often rewrites a bill so as to more effectively declare its purpose, inserting amendments adopted on the floor in their proper places. The bill is then reported to special file, which is the equivalent of the committee of the whole, from which the bill proceeds to third reading. Only two bills of the many that passed the gauntlet were killed on third reading, a common place of fatality under the old system. All of these processes are leisurely gone through, and a law remodeled to suit the majority is the final result.

It is urged as a reason for a larger membership that too much work is imposed on the committees, which usually consist of eleven members. The cure for this is the introduction of fewer bills, or smaller committees.

In sharp contrast to bicameral practices, no bill can be considered in committee until five days' notice has been publicly given. Full hearings in public are given to all who wish to be heard upon any measure. In executive session reporters are admitted and no restrictions are placed upon what they may print.

The average number of bills introduced at the three unicameral sessions has been a little over five hundred. In bicameral days it was in excess of a thousand.

Order Out of Chaos

Twice as much time is devoted to consideration of legislation as was possible under bicameral operation. The observer is impressed, when he watches the unicameral in action, with the orderliness which has been substituted for the chaos and haste of the old days, with the seriousness which the members show in weighing the pros and cons of a proposed measure, and with the care taken to avert mistakes.

Between sessions a legislative council of fifteen members holds periodical meetings. It employs a corps of research workers, who gather all possible data on matters of taxation and other questions likely to be raised in succeeding sessions for the guidance of the membership of the future.

The unicameral legislature is the newspaper man's paradise. As a legislative reporter his mission is to keep the public informed as to the nature, purpose, and progress of legislation. The unicameral simplifies this task. Everything is open and above board. There are no secret meetings from which he is barred, and every facility is afforded for keeping track of the work of the lawmakers. Having observed the old way and the new, I unequivocally say that the new way is immeasurably the better.

Have Public Employees the Right to Strike?—Yes

"The public service should lead in model practices, adding to the guarantee of the civil service the protection afforded by independent organizations of employees dealing freely with their superiors."

By ROGER N. BALDWIN
American Civil Liberties Union

(The first of three viewpoints published in this issue.)

THE distinctions commonly made between the right of workers in private industry and those in the public service to strike will not stand up under examination. They are based on no solid considerations of either the public welfare or of civil liberties. They arise from an unthinking hostility to "strikes against the government" as if all strikes of public employees are somehow or other political in motive. Along with that prejudice runs the substantial practical objection to strikes in certain essential services whose cessation would be catastrophic to the whole community—notably the firemen and police. The spectacle of this catastrophe is made to justify denial of the right to strike in the entire public service.

When the right to strike is thus denied, the argument is commonly extended against all trade unionism in the public service. It is alleged that because government does not function for private profit public employees are not exploited. It is maintained that since civil service employees enjoy pay, tenure, and pensions fixed by law, and not available to private employees, they need no other protection. Even when it is conceded that the conditions of civil service employees can be improved, the remedy is held to lie not in trade union organization but in pressure on legislative and administrative agencies.

The whole conception appears to be without substantial merit. Let us take the latter arguments first, since they can be most readily met.

While government does not function for profit the pressure for economy often produces precisely the same effects in low wages. Arbitrary authority in the hands of politicians and administrative officials bears down with the same results on public employees as on private. Protection by trade union organization is the only practicable method for counteracting such pressures.

While it is true that civil service employees enjoy advantages not commonly shared by workers in private industries, these advantages are far from meeting all needs. Practical experience with unions in the public service demonstrates their usefulness in adjusting and reforming scores of practices not covered by civil service law or regulations. Anyone with any experience in administration knows that no employer or administrator is capable of sensing from on top the needs of an army of employees. Only those who actually compose the rank and file of

employees appreciate fully their own problems and are capable of speaking for themselves.

It follows that when remedies are sought from legislative bodies unions of employees are of great assistance in formulating grievances and demands. The voice of organized labor is frequently the only effective means of directing the attention of both the legislature and the public to injustices in the public service. This has been so long apparent in the relation of teachers to the school system and the community that it only needs to be stated to make the argument conclusive.

Strikes Not Political

As to the more dramatic aspect of trade unionism involved in the right of public employees to strike, we should dismiss at once the notion that such strikes are in any way aimed at the function of government itself. The Columbia University study of over one thousand strikes in the public services shows that not a single one of them had political motivation. They were aimed at particular politicians or administrators, not against the government as such. They are in that respect exactly like strikes in private industry.

The more substantial argument against strikes in the public service rests upon the fear that the essential functions of governments may be paralyzed, and that the government therefore has the right to insist that its services be not interrupted.

Let us at once exclude from consideration the case, so commonly cited, of policemen and firemen, for they perform a unique service in which it is not unreasonable to require that the right to strike shall be surrendered. In the comparatively few cities with unions of policemen and firemen they have commonly waived the right to strike, recognizing the exceptional character of their occupations. In a very few cities the right is denied by law. The basis for distinguishing policemen and firemen from other employees necessarily rests on the catastrophic consequences to the community of a strike, since substitutes cannot be recruited nor any emergency provision made for replacing their function.

We are met with the rejoinder that if this is true, the distinction applies equally to employees of public water works, electric light plants, hospitals, buses, street railways, subways, and a host of other services. But in all these services either emergency crews can be substituted sufficient to carry on essential functions, or, as in many strikes, the unions themselves provide for their continuance by a skeleton force to meet emergency needs.

Identical services in many communities are not in the hands of public agencies, but private utilities. Nobody, I think, argues that strikes in privately-owned utilities should be prohibited; yet the considerations of public inconvenience and danger are precisely the same. It therefore seems a reasonable distinction to place in one category, where the right to strike may be denied, those essential services which are by their nature operated exclusively by public

importance of the functions to which they are incidental.

The industrial functions of government are directly comparable with private industry. Battleships are built in navy yards and battleships are built in private plants. What logic is there in the government denying the right to strike in the former case and permitting the right in the latter? Ordnance is made at the Rock Island Arsenal which is run by the army and at the Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company's plant which belongs to a private corporation. Why is it "common sense" to deny the right to strike at the arsenal and allow it at the company?

The service functions of the government—the conduct of utilities, educational institutions, hospitals, welfare agencies—likewise parallel or compete with the work of private organizations. Until last year New York had private and public subway lines. Strikes actually took place on the former lines some years ago. Yet when the city took over these same lines it was solemnly declared: "The right to strike against the government is not and cannot be recognized."

Those engaged in the administrative, service, and industrial functions of government account for the overwhelming majority of government employees. The comparatively small number which remain are engaged in the work of law enforcement, the only governmental activities not directly comparable with work outside. These are traditionally and peculiarly functions of public authority. Yet law enforcement is dependent upon far more than the work of policemen or public inspectors. Like all social processes in complex modern society it is dependent upon the running of the whole social machine. New York or Chicago could not be policed at night if employees of private lighting companies did not keep the lights on. Law could hardly be enforced and public order could hardly be maintained if privately owned transportation and communication systems ceased to operate.

The fact is that the continuity of governmental functions depends upon coöperation of society as a whole quite as much as the rest of society depends upon the functioning of government. In many instances the work of privately employed workers is actually of greater immediate social concern than the work of civil servants. Compare, for example, the immediate effects of a strike in the Department of the Interior or even a strike of public school teachers with a strike of privately employed milk drivers.

A Challenge to Authority

It thus becomes increasingly clear that government's denial of the right of its employees to strike cannot be based upon the ground of the harm which the cessation of their work might cause. It is based rather upon the ground that government as custodian of final authority in the land cannot permit those whom it hires to carry on its work to challenge its authority. The preservation of this concept of public authority is regarded as far more important than the immediate interests served by the functioning of particular agencies.

The famous Boston police strike in 1919 was caused because the responsible officials refused to accept a reasonable settlement which they regarded as compromising their authority. In the same year the city of Cincinnati forced a strike of its firemen in much the same way. In Colorado Springs, in the midst of a controversy over wages, the mayor dismissed the entire fire department without making any provision for the protection of the city. In all these cases, and in many similar ones, the wrath of the community was turned against the virtually locked-out employees, while the authorities who were responsible for the protection of the community were praised for defending law, order, and public authority.

The denial of the right of government workers to strike largely takes the form of statements by executive authorities. The only legislation on the subject, aside from two statutes enacted in the wake of the Boston police strike making it a misdemeanor for policemen or firemen of the District of Columbia to strike, is indirect. Federal employees are not forbidden to strike. The law merely states that "membership in any . . . labor organization of postal employees not affiliated with any outside organization imposing an obligation or duty upon them to engage in any strike, or proposing to assist them in any strike, against the United States" shall not constitute cause for reduction in rank or removal. This applies only to postal workers. No other class of federal employees is mentioned.

There are a number of other statutory provisions, both federal and state, which might be invoked to bar public service strikes although they were not enacted for such purpose. These deal principally with conspiracy against the government. The courts have never passed directly on the public service strike issue although some dictum on the subject may be expected when the decision on the right of the City of New York to bargain with its transit workers is finally handed down. However, the courts have in a number of cognate cases involving undertakings affected with the public interest made their disapproval of such strikes so clear and defined the power of government to prevent or break them so broadly that there is little question as to how they would act if government workers should walk out.

No Strike Policy

One of the most significant aspects of the strike question in the government services is the attitude of the employees themselves. There is not a single organization in the United States composed entirely of government employees which has a strike policy. Those affiliated with either the A. F. of L. or the C. I. O. as well as some independent unions have no-strike provisions in their constitutions. Despite such provisions there have been some municipal strikes within the jurisdiction of these unions, particularly among fire fighters. As in private industry such strikes have been for better working conditions or for union recognition. Practically all such strikes occurred in the early stages of unionization when unsatis-

factory working conditions which brought the union into being were still uncorrected or when the authorities attempted to break up the movement.

Most of the membership of organizations composed wholly of public employees is in the traditional services which are non-industrial in character. These organizations have sought their objectives through legislative means. Some of these groups have lobbies of strength and influence. This is particularly true of the postal organizations, whose objective has been to carry the legislative method of fixing conditions as far as possible and to limit and narrow the discretion and authority of the supervisory officials. The postal workers feel that the influence of their lobby is substantial while their power in the department is slight. One reason for this, and this is true in some other government services also, is that the postal employee works for a government monopoly. There is no other business to which the special skills and training of a postal clerk would be of value. If he loses his government job he must seek an entirely different type of employment. This weakens him in his relations with the department.

Workers in Service

Quite the opposite, however, is true of the government's industrial workers. These are organized in the regular unions of their crafts, trades, or industries. A machinist or a pattern maker can work in a navy yard or for a private firm. Washington printers or pressmen are not dependent upon even the huge Government Printing Office for employment. These workers view their governmental employer with none of the awe and respect that departmental clerks and administrators bestow upon him. They are members of their trade or industry first and government employees only incidentally. They can and do go from government jobs to private jobs and back again depending upon which employer has the better offer to make. These employees concede no special rights to the governmental employer. They insist upon their right to strike and have on occasion exercised it.

In most of these services, both federal and local, wages are fixed upon the basis of prevailing rates for comparable work through formal or informal collective bargaining or negotiation. The expansion of the public service into the field of economic activity, one of the marked characteristics of the day, will bring a larger and larger number of industrial workers into the service. Experience has already shown that they will not easily be cut to the pattern of the conventional civil servant and that they will not readily surrender methods of dealing with their employer which have proved successful. During the days of federal operation of the railroads during World War I railway workers resisted attempts to apply to them the federal rules on political activity in the civil service. They struck even during war time against the United States Railroad Administration.

The attitude of the transit workers in New York City is another case in point. Here, despite all the pro-

testations of the press and the local administration that the city could not bargain with its workers and that it would not yield to strike threats, the city yielded when the strike date approached and entered into negotiations with its organized employees.

It is, of course, impossible to guess whether the union would have struck if the city had not yielded on all essential points. It is significant that the union twice in a little over a year went to the extent of authorizing a strike in the face of most explicit denials of the right by the municipal authorities.

The Right to Strike

It is clear that no mere denial of the right to strike will of itself prevent strikes if workers regard their grievances sufficiently great to assume the risks. Strikes under such circumstances damage the authority of the sovereign, the very thing the denial of the right to strike seeks to preserve. The governmental employer, in order to maintain his authority in the face of illegal strikes, must demonstrate his power by punishing the offending workers and calling upon his military forces to break the strike and restore operations. The generally undesirable consequences of such procedure hardly require elaborate description.

The state, of course, has the right, where the necessity of maintaining its existence and preserving public peace, order, and safety require it, to use its military arm, but such circumstances are as likely to result through interruptions in private industry as in the public service. At any rate the use of military power is an extreme and extraordinary measure to be resorted to only under exceptional circumstances.

When the state denies its workers the right to strike merely because they are government employees it defines common labor disputes as attacks upon public authority and makes the use of drastic disciplines and armed force a method of handling otherwise simple industrial relations.

The use of the state's ultimate force for the protection of the public interest is different from the subordination of a large and growing section of the labor movement to governmental power. Such subordination is a dominant characteristic of totalitarian society. If the government services were small and inconsequential the issue would still be of importance. But with the public services in all their branches employing one tenth of all the wage earners in the land, and expanding at an ever increasing rate, the issue becomes one of major moment. A free labor movement among these millions of workers is their only effective check upon the greatly enhanced power which expanding governmental activity gives to public authorities.

The power motive, recent history teaches, is as important an exploiting force as ever was the profit motive. Labor is thus faced with a serious dilemma if the government insists upon denying it that right which is the ultimate guarantee of its freedom. An expanding public service will mean a creeping totalitarian trend as a larger and larger section of the working population is obliged

(Continued on Page 551)

Contributors in Review

POLITICAL reformer and pacifist," is *Who's Who*'s description of **Roger N. Baldwin** (*Have Public Employees the Right to Strike?—Yes*). A career begun as a sociologist and probation expert led to a directorship of the American Civil Liberties Union, a post which Mr. Baldwin has held since 1917. Mr. Baldwin is the author of books and pamphlets on probation and civil liberties. Some of his other activities include vice-presidency of the National Association of Audubon Societies, membership on the Harvard Overseers' Committee on Economics, chairmanship of the International Committee for Political Prisoners.

EITHER as observer, reporter, or news bureau manager, **Harry T. Dobbins** (*Nebraska's One-House Legislature—After Six Years*) has attended every Nebraska legislative session since 1891. Since 1888 he has been associated with the editorial department of the *Nebraska State Journal*, most recently as associate editor. For many years, too, Mr. Dobbins has been active in the Republican party in Nebraska, in such posts as chairman of the Republican County Committee, member of the Republican State Committee, and delegate to party conventions. Mr. Dobbins is a regular contributor to insurance and financial publications.

CIVIL service is both the vocation and avocation of **H. Eliot Kaplan** (*Have Public Employees the Right to Strike?—No*). As a member of the New York bar he specializes in civil service law; as executive secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League and the New York Civil Service Reform Association he has been identified with most of the developments having to do with public personnel questions. In 1933 he was a member of the New York Municipal Economy Committee; in 1934-37 he was advisory counsel to the Competitive Civil Service Employees Association; since 1939 he has been advisory counsel to the Administrative and Supervisory Employee Association of the New York transit systems.

FROM the staff of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research (1918-24) to the job of dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, **William E. Mosher** (*The Wave of the Future for Local Government*) has been increasingly in the forefront of progress in local government. He has served on the steering committees of most of the leading societies in the governmental field, has written texts, reports, and articles on utilities, personnel, and local government; has directed surveys for the federal government on questions of personnel and utilities.

AS AUTHOR and co-author, **Sterling D. Spero** (*Have Public Employees the Right to Strike?—Maybe*) has had a hand in the writing of *The Labor Movement in a Government Industry, Employer and Employee in the Public Service, The Black Worker, Labor and the Government,* and—now in the process of completion—*Government as an Employer.* A member of the faculty of the graduate division of Public Administration of New York University, Mr. Spero has done research under the Social Science Research Council, Columbia University, and the Twentieth Century Fund.

Researcher's Digest: September

St. Louis survey reveals outmoded government structure; summing up time for researchers; voting behavior in Detroit; defense and state finance; California surveys all its local governments.

WHAT happens when citizens make "constantly increasing demands for services from the city" but there is a "relatively limited amount of revenues to meet these demands?" The situation is a familiar one. In St. Louis the solution was one which of late is also becoming increasingly common.

A survey by experts was ordered, a survey of the "structure and operation of the city government" which "might disclose points at which economies could be realized without seriously impairing the public services rendered."

A printed, 318-page summary report of this two-year survey is now issued under the title *The Government of the City of St. Louis.* Directed by the **Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis** and carried out in part by the institute (without charge to the city) and in part by Griffenhagen and Associates, the survey found all sorts of ways in which the city might save, some of which savings would be of large cash value. Chief finding was that the structure of city government is an outmoded hodgepodge. The surveyors assumed that the citizens of St. Louis prefer to retain the mayor-council form, however, and recommended only a cleaning up of functions and structure so that there might be a clear-cut division between legislative and administrative authority, in other words, a pure strong mayor type.

Other major findings: a weak, inadequate personnel system; understaffed, over-costly hospitals; antiquated assessment methods and procedures; outmoded fire equipment, inadequate fire prevention work, unsound fire pension system; poor accounting and financial reporting; over-costly insurance on municipal properties; possibilities for $50,000 savings in Streets and Sewers Department.

Looking Backward

Summer is summing up time, judging by the number of research bureau publications which look back over the year and in due modesty find it good. Longest retrospection is that of the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** which issues a 62-page printed pamphlet, *A Quarter-Century of Citizen Concern with Government,* subtitled "A preface and a bibliography of the bureau for the years 1916-1941." The preface is more than half the book and it constitutes a recital not only of Detroit bureau history and aims but also, indirectly, of the history and aims of the entire municipal research movement. This is worth reading and worth having.

To the north, Canadian research brethren also look back, and in doing so, look forward. The *Year Book* of the **Citizens Research Institute of Canada,** 1941, (43 pp.) presents a brief annual report; discusses three important topics of the year—sectionalism, coöperation in the war effort, and preparation for after the war; reproduces laws which have made changes in business taxation in 1940; and gives Canadian statistics of governmental taxation for 1940. There is much of war history reflected here, which may be of import to the institute's neighbors to the south.

Also in the reviewing stand are the **Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research of New York State,** which reports in a mimeographed bulletin on its "Work on Public Expenditures" during

the last session of the state legislature; the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research,** which titles its bulletin No. 55, "Factfinding to Promote Efficient and Economical Local Government and to Develop a Constructive Plan of Improvement for the Community—Work of the Bureau During the Past Year"; the **Governmental Research Bureau of Duluth, Minnesota,** whose twentieth annual report comprises a long range review of Duluth tax trends; the **Taxpayers Research Association of Fort Wayne, Indiana,** whose Research Bulletin No. 82 outlines the purpose and methods of the association, with an interesting organization chart to show both; and the **Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy of Baltimore,** which reproduces in *Your Tax Dollar* a letter by the bureau's chairman published in the *Baltimore Evening Sun* reviewing the methods and work of the bureau.

New Developments

Two changes in bureau policy also come to light. The **Louisiana Municipal Association** and the **Bureau of Governmental Research of Louisiana State University** have decided to join forces in a single magazine, a coöperative study of the state revenue system, and a joint annual conference on municipal affairs. Change has also come to *The Public Purse* of the **Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research** which now has a new format.

How Americans Vote

Under the imprint of the **Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan** is published a five and a half year study by Edward H. Litchfield which takes its place as one of the significant contributions to the literature of the voting process. *Voting Behavior in a Metropolitan Area* is based on the election statistics for the years 1930-1938 of the city of Detroit. Some of its conclusions might have been anticipated by the student of political affairs, but still it provides a thoroughly documented, impressively bulwarked case history with some highly interesting findings as the result.

Mr. Litchfield found that voting participation was fairly uniform throughout the city, rising from the 1930 low to a peak in 1932, then decreasing after that. A prime exception was the Negro group, whose interest in elections has gradually risen throughout the period. In non-presidential election years the foreign-born participated more completely than the native whites. The study revealed a direct relationship between income and participation. The two most active participant groups represented the extremes in major party affiliation.

Mr. Litchfield deems his most important conclusion from major party affiliation data the finding that, in general, Democratic party affiliation varied inversely with economic status.

The author lays much stress on the importance of city-wide influences acting upon all, regardless of economic, race, and ethnic groups.

What War Does to Finance

A valuable symposium on *National Defense and State Finance* is published by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama** as a result of a southwide conference called early this year by the Alabama State Department of Revenue, the Federation of Tax Administrators and the bureau. Papers by such men as Daniel W. Hoan, Harold D. Smith, Paul Studenski, Rowland Egger, Simeon E. Leland, R. G. Casey, Eric W. Cross, Paul E. Alyea, James W. Martin, and Lawrence L. Durisch discuss the various aspects of the problem in the light of Canadian Experience, World War I experience, depression experience, and future expectations.

For the Files

Add to statistical literature the new mimeographed publication of the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia,** *Philadelphia's Expenditures, 1928-1941,* and to the literature of model laws, *An Outline for the Organization and Administration of a City Planning Commission in the State of Washington,* produced under the aegis of the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington.**

Every City in the State

Pacific coast research brethren head the latest issue of *Governmental Research Notes,* quarterly bulletin of the **Western Governmental Research Association,** with an account of the California Local Government Survey which is being conducted by the League of California Cities. All incorporated areas in the state will be included in this detailed study, via questionnaires, of the administrative methods of all departments in all municipalities. Already completed is the police department section, with findings published in recent issues of *Western City* magazine.

To Help the Lawmakers

A sheaf of orange covers lettered in bright blue represents the season's work of the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California** at Berkeley, which devotes the days of its researchers to serving the information desires of California's state legislators. The titles include *Civil Relief for Draftees, Probation-Prisons-Parole, Legislature and the Budget, Farm Wage Boards, Legislative Reorganization, Direct Primary Elections, Administrative Decisions and Judicial Review.* All are a review of practices throughout the country, with special reference to California, and no recommendations are made.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Budget

Legislature and the Budget. By Victor Jones. Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1941. 67 pp. mimeo.

Crime

Probation—Prisons—Parole. By Milton Chernin. Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1941. 23 pp. mimeo.

Defense

National Defense and State Finance. Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, University, 1941. 180 pp.

Finance

An Appraisal of State "Economy" Situation. Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., of New York State, Albany, *Bulletin,* July 1, 1941. 4 pp.

Economy in Local Government Demands Real Consideration. The Rochester, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Municipal Research,* June 1941. 1 p.

Philadelphia's Expenditures, 1928-1941. Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, 1941. 79 pp.

Judicial Review

Administrative Decisions and Judicial Review. By Arthur Harris and Robert Ward. Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1941. 35 pp.

Legislatures

Legislative Reorganization. By Dorothy C. Culver. Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1941. 73 pp. mimeo.

Legislative Representation. Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, Inc., *Just a Moment,* July 24, 1941. 4 pp.

Planning

An Outline for the Organization and Administration of a City Planning Commission in the State of Washington. By Joshua H. Vogel. Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, Seattle, 1941. 21 pp.

Police

The Springfield Police Survey. By Bruce Smith. Institute of Public Administration, New York City, 1941. 55 pp.

Primaries

Direct Primary Elections. By Arthur Harris and Carl Uhr. Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1941. 35 pp. mimeo.

Public Welfare

Current Trends in Public Aid. Ohio Institute, Columbus, *The Ohio Citizen,* June 24, 1941. 2 pp. mimeo.

Where Need Is Greatest. Ohio Institute, Columbus, *The Ohio Citizen,* July 8, 1941. 2 pp. chart.

Research Bureaus

Citizens Research Agencies and Taxpayers Associations. A portion of the proceedings of the 1940 Governmental Research Association Conference. Governmental Research Association, Detroit, 1941. 32 pp.

Factfinding to Promote Efficient and Economical Local Government and to Develop a Constructive Plan of Improvement for the Community. Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Research Brevities,* June 4, 1941. 2 pp. mimeo.

Five Questions Directed Towards The Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc. The Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., *Your Tax Dollar,* June 10, 1941. 1 p.

Growing Public Spending New Challenge to Taxpayers' Organizations. Fort Wayne, Indiana, Taxpayers Research Association, *Research Bulletin,* June 1941. 4 pp.

A Quarter-Century of Citizen Concern with Government. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, 1941. 62 pp.

Twentieth Annual Report. Duluth Governmental Research Bureau, Inc., 1941. 4 pp.

Year Book. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, Toronto, 1941. 43 pp.

Surveys

California Local Government Survey. Western Governmental Research Association, University of California, Berkeley, *Governmental Research Notes,* June 1941. 14 pp. mimeo.

The Government of the City of St. Louis. Griffenhagen and Associates and Governmental Research Institute, St. Louis, 1941. 318 pp.

Taxation

Sales Tax Shows That People Are Good Sports. Dayton Research Association, *Facts,* June 28, 1941. 1 p. mimeo.

Taxes Paid by Steam Railroads. Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Research Brevities,* July 1, 1941. 1 p. mimeo.

Units of Government

Units of Government in Michigan. Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, 1941. 43 pp.

Voting

Voting Behavior in a Metropolitan Area. By Edward H. Litchfield. Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1941. 93 pp.

A Letter to the Editor

To the Editor of the National Municipal Review:

The readers of National Municipal Review, a highly selective group, will undoubtedly be interested in a synopsis of the existing roadside problem, a statement of the position of the Outdoor Advertising Association of America, Inc., respecting that problem, and what we are doing to try to bring about an effective solution. The Review's readers, because of their specialized knowledge and professional concern with related matters, will probably be less interested in an idealistic theory than in a practical solution. If our approach to the subject impresses them as moderate, factual, and constructive, and if as a consequence their interest and support are enlisted in a sane solution of an existing condition, so much the better.

The problem presented by the roadsides along many highways is not to be denied. Curiously, there are those who apparently knowingly overlook the complexity of the larger problem to fasten their attention upon outdoor advertising. Their end is the elimination of the outdoor medium, and one of the means they employ is the sponsorship of legislation. The Outdoor Advertising Association of America, Inc., does and will oppose legislation which is intended to restrict unduly or to eliminate the outdoor medium, which attempts to impose an especial tax upon the machinery of distribution of which outdoor advertising is a part, or which discriminates against the rights of free enterprise or the reasonable use of private property. Together with highway property owners and the other forms of roadside business, we will vigorously oppose legislative proposals which do not take into just account the several basic rights entailed.

In point of fact, opposition on the part of rural property owners to so-called strip or corridor zoning as distinguished from comprehensive zoning led the association to adopt, on January 25, 1940, its present policy which declares that it "will support the enactment of non-discriminatory legislation for the reasonable regulation of the use of land abutting public ways, providing such legislation has the support of a majority of the owners of property and business in the area to be regulated."[1] (The foregoing declaration is a provision of the voluntary code called "Governing Principles and Policies," which was adopted by the association to establish clearly-defined ideas with respect to the location of outdoor advertising displays. The acceptance of these voluntary standards by the industry is a constructive step toward building outdoor advertising designed to serve advertisers efficiently and effectively as well as the best interests of the communities in which the standardized medium is operated.)

The record shows, moreover, that whatever regulatory legislation has been enacted to date has not resulted in a satisfactory solution of the roadside problem. The difficulties involved in drawing up workable, non-discriminatory legislation are readily admitted by thoughtful planners; and any legislature which wants to enact a fair, inclusive, and enforceable measure will necessarily have to give thoughtful study to all factors of the roadside problem in order to arrive at a solution mutually satisfactory to all concerned.

Quite apart from the difficulties entailed, however, reliance upon legislation to bring about a practical solution to the condition of the roadside leaves much to

[1] A copy of Governing Principles and Policies will be sent to readers of the Review upon request to Outdoor Advertising Association of America, Inc., 165 West Wacker Drive, Chicago.

be desired. Legislation freezes improvement at the minimum level stated by the letter of the law. Human nature being what it is, most people are content to regulate their activities so that they merely do not break the law. Legislative regulation offers no incentive to going farther in the right direction than the statute explicitly requires. Then, too, legislative regulation is repugnant to most people because its very nature does not encourage a free will to help, to construct, to coöperate.

All this being true, is the self-evident roadside problem to remain unsolved? We think not. Within the last twelvemonth a way has been shown which gives promise of success. In Pennsylvania a Coöperative Committee for Roadside Improvement was established by Richard P. Brown, former secretary of the Department of Commerce. Under the able direction of F. A. Pitkin, director of the Pennsylvania State Planning Board, government bureaus, highway property owners, trade associations representing different kinds of roadside enterprise, and one or two other organizations are coöperating to bring about an improvement of roadside conditions along stretches of highway distinguished for their scenic beauty. The principle involved is voluntary zoning, and the approach is merely an appeal to the pride, civic consciousness, and desire to earn the respect of others which is innate in the average person.

The response met with and the results accomplished to date, while by no means ideally successful, nevertheless have recently encouraged governmental, agricultural, business, civic, and cultural leaders of Georgia to set up in their state a counterpart of the Pennsylvania coöperative program. The Georgia Coöperative Committee for Roadside Improvement has not yet had time to accomplish tangible results, but its sound, determined approach to its local roadside problem indicates that eventual success may reasonably be expected.

These coöperative activities are beginning to attract favorable public notice. Partly as a result of written and verbal comments, partly because a coöperative program of the sort described is an obviously high type of social and civic endeavor, leaders in other states, and even in counties, are seriously considering establishing comparable coöperative programs in their communities. As in Pennsylvania and Georgia, members of the Outdoor Advertising Association of America, Inc., and other outdoor advertising associations can be relied upon to coöperate wholeheartedly with any local, inclusive, reasonable, and constructive activity which is dedicated to the improvement of roadside conditions in other states.

The history of the commercial and industrial development of this country is rich with instances of the joining of hands by diverse interests. The conference table, intelligent compromise, a willingness to coöperate, and readiness to see the other fellow's point of view are woven securely into the fabric of our national economic life. Mutual acceptance of each other's sincerity must be a preliminary to the accomplishment of common objectives. Such methods and approaches are typically American, and are implicit in the coöperative programs for roadside improvement in which members of the organized outdoor advertising industry are prepared to play a thoroughly helpful and constructive part.

Edward C. Donnelly, Jr., *President*

Outdoor Advertising Association of America, Inc.

News in Review

City, State, Nation
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

New Merit Systems Make Progress

Five states take steps to implement new legislation

DURING the past month members of the New York State Civil Service Commission and staff members of the state Department of Civil Service have visited every county in the state, holding meetings with county and other local officials. These have been for the purpose of giving information on the provisions of the so-called Fite bill before the county boards of supervisors make their decisions as to the form of civil service administration under which they wish to operate.[1] Three possibilities are open to the counties, which must make a selection before July 1, 1942.

Reorganization of the Michigan civil service system under the constitutional amendment adopted last fall has proceeded rapidly, according to the *News Letter* of the Civil Service Assembly. A state personnel director has been appointed by the Civil Service Commission, which has also adopted new rules to place the provisions of the amendment in effect. The staff of the commission has classified approximately 8,500 previously exempt positions and many competitive examinations for appointments and promotions have been held.

The Civil Service Commission in Louisiana has appointed a state personnel director out of eighty-two applicants participating in a nation-wide competitive examination. Although the civil service act does not go into full effect until July 1, 1942, provisions for the establishment of a classification and pay plan, for nearly all state positions except elective officials and legislative, court, and military employees, are already effective.

In Indiana the Civil Service Board has appointed a director of the State Personnel Division, covering all state institutions, the Board of Health, Department of Public Welfare (including county departments of public welfare), unemployment compensation and employment services, and the Indiana Library and Historical Department. Classification of institutional positions is under way with the aid of Public Administration Service of Chicago. The personnel board has announced qualifying and competitive examinations for positions in twenty-one state institutions. All incumbent employees are required to qualify in open competitive examinations.

A special examining committee appointed by the Civil Service Board in Kansas has formulated plans for a nation-wide examination for director.

[1]For a detailed discussion of the Fite bill and the options available to boards of supervisors, see "New York State Extends Merit System," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1941, p. 253.

Springfield, Massachusetts, Establishes Utility Commission

On August 11, 1941, the newly created Public Utilities Commission of Springfield, Massachusetts, met and organized to carry out its purposes. It consists of appointees from the municipal legislature and from the general public, with City Solicitor James M. Carroll, *ex officio,* who was elected chairman.

The need of such a body has been considered for the past two years. Its duties as prescribed by ordinance include the keeping of continuous con-

tact with local utility conditions and developments, the accumulation and analysis of facts pertaining to the utilities serving the community, the assembly and study of data relative to other localities, the formulation of local utility policies, and particularly the preparation of annual surveys and reports covering operations during the year, with recommendations to the council and mayor as to what should be done in the public interest.

A particular objective is to establish a definite basis of facts and procedure for the systematic readjustment of rates and service standards from time to time in accordance with realized conditions. Instead of letting matters drift indefinitely until emergencies arise, or until consumer discontent focuses on City Hall (as commonly prevails throughout the country), the commission will keep continuous contact. With analyzed facts it will seek to obtain rate reductions as justified with growth in business and with advances in economy and efficiency. It will endeavor to establish definite standards, exact facts, and systematic administration. If rate increases should become necessary, they can be taken care of expeditiously and satisfactorily through the continuous fact-sifting of the commission.

In dealing with private utilities the commission will function within the framework of the regulatory system established by the commonwealth. Its purpose is not to displace state regulation, but to make it effective from the public standpoint.

The significance of the commission, as with any new instrumentality of municipal policy and administration, will depend largely upon the zeal with which its purposes are carried out. Prospects are brightened by the appointment of the present city solicitor as chairman. The commission's usefulness should be great. Consumers will for once be placed in somewhat equal position with private companies in appearing before the state regulatory body.

The commission will consider not only continuously, but from the standpoint of long-term objectives, the different aspects of organization, control, management, rates, and finances. It will recognize that for the future low utility rates, especially electric, constitute a basic factor of local industrial purposes. It will be motivated especially by the long-distance regional competition which has been created by the low-rate sections of the country. It stakes out new grounds of municipal objectives. Its results should have lively interest for all cities that have long floundered with utility conditions.

JOHN BAUER
American Public Utilities Bureau

Philadelphia's Permanent Registration Investigated

The Governor's Committee to Investigate the Affairs of the Philadelphia Registration Commission, which was appointed on December 9, 1940, by Governor Arthur H. James of Pennsylvania, rendered its report to him under date of June 2. It is a thoroughgoing, detailed document of eighty-eight pages, going into the specific charges that have been made against the Registration Commission, appraising the methods of administering permanent registration in Philadelphia, and proposing improvements in the applicable law or in its administration.

The investigating committee of five members, headed by Benjamin L. Long, employed Dr. John Perry Horlacher of the University of Pennsylvania, an expert in the field of public administration, as its research director. An administrative survey was conducted, numerous specific allegations were checked

and independent studies made, and hearings were held at which interested parties were given the opportunity to be heard.

Although the committee reported no evidence of fraud or criminality on the part of members or employees of the Registration Commission, great laxity and other defects of administration were found. The report states that the commission substantially failed to discharge its duty to maintain current voting lists. The number of registration affidavits "improperly in the district registers" exceeded 100,000 and was between 9.2 and 11.8 per cent of the total registrations, as compared to a permissible limit of 3 to 5 per cent. Charges made by the Committee of Seventy that the commission failed to remove illegal registrations after being furnished information of bad conditions in 297 district binders were sustained; and charges of "overloading" in various apartment houses, as published in the *Philadelphia Record*, were found substantially correct. Various other charges were justified in part, while some were declared unfounded.

Unified direction and single responsibility in administration were lacking, and the staff of the commission was found generally to be of low competency for the work and not adequately trained by the commission. Lack of administrative planning and many other defects were pointed out.

The committee recommended that the commission's chairman be named by the governor and made its responsible administrator, with exclusive power of appointments and dismissals under a merit system. Ten other specific legislative changes to facilitate accurate lists were recommended; and twenty administrative changes, including energetic canvass of the city by inspectors and use of utility reports of removals, were urged.

The committee believes that permanent registration is a marked advance over personal registration, and that with competent personnel and effective administrative management permanent registration in Philadelphia can work satisfactorily.

The state legislature has made many amendments to the registration act but without changing the form of the commission or establishing a merit system. Four new members of the commission have been appointed by the Governor.

Kansas City, Missouri, Installs Housing Authority

The establishment of a housing authority in Kansas City, Missouri, leaves only five of the nation's thirty largest cities without public housing programs, according to the United States Housing Authority. Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Indianapolis, Rochester, and Portland, Oregon, are the five cities of over 300,000 without such authorities. Kansas City has until now been prevented from engaging in public housing by the Missouri housing law, which permitted only St. Louis to carry on public housing until a recent amendment extended its provisions to all cities over 5,000 population.

The members of the new housing authority are representative of the many varied local groups interested in public housing. The chairman is a real estate and building operator. Other members include a woman prominent in social welfare, a labor leader, a Negro civic leader, and a man experienced in commercial and civic affairs. They serve without pay and are appointed for five-year terms.

The number of United States Housing Authority low-rent projects completed or under construction passed the four hundred mark in August. More than a third of a million people are now living in the low-rent projects built under USHA or the former PWA Housing Division.

Council-Manager Plan News

Tarpon Springs, Florida, adopted a city manager charter on July 21 by an overwhelming majority, 682 votes being cast for the change and only 143 against it. The total vote of 825 was remarkably large for a special election. It is expected that a manager will be appointed in the immediate future. The mayor and councilmen are to be paid no salaries, and are limited to two two-year terms in succession.

Washington Court House, Ohio, voted two to one on August 5 to retain the manager plan. The unofficial vote for abandonment of the plan was 806, while the vote against abandonment was 1,659.

The manager plan is being urged for **Olean, New York,** by the Olean unit of the Cattaraugus County Taxpayers Association. A referendum on the question is sought to be obtained at the November election.

New Hampshire's Legislative Session

From the point of view of effect on municipal government in New Hampshire three laws passed by the 127th General Court (the legislature), which adjourned June 15, assume major proportions: (1) an act appropriating $12,000 to reconvene the State Constitutional Convention to act on a proposal to reduce the membership of the House of Representatives. It now totals 423 and will increase to 443 next session because of population gains revealed by the 1940 census; (2) the new housing authorities law, which as an enabling act will permit municipalities to establish housing authorities, and (3) the act permitting housing authorities to initiate housing projects to provide "safe and sanitary dwellings" for persons engaged in national defense activities. The first of these laws has aroused a great deal of interest. Towns guard jealously their right to be represented in the legislature as political entities and check attempts made by cities to place all representation by districts based on population. The housing acts mark a complete reversal of previous attitudes of the General Court.

Another measure provides for the creation of a special commission to study the state's election laws and to bring them up-to-date.

Following the example set by the firemen in 1939 the police succeeded in securing passage of a retirement plan.

LASHLEY G. HARVEY
University of New Hampshire

Illinois Legislation for Cities

Probably the most important law passed by the Illinois legislature at the session ending at the mid-year was a revision and codification of the cities and villages act. This is the first comprehensive revision of the act since 1872 and was much needed. Permanent registration of voters, which has formerly been limited to Chicago and a few other cities, most of them in Cook County, was extended to the downstate counties. Other bills enacted into law authorize cities to establish municipally owned parking lots, and to license and control the location of dealers in used motor vehicles. Another act authorizes two or more municipalities to incorporate as an aviation district for the purpose of joint operation of airports. As noted in the June REVIEW bills to enable cities of above 5,000 population to use the council manager plan were again defeated.

CHARLES M. KNEIER
University of Illinois

Training for Municipal Civil Service Commissioners

Four one-day training schools for members and secretaries of municipal civil service commissions in the state of New York will be held in September

under the auspices of the Municipal Training Institute of that state, in cooperation with the State Civil Service Department and the Bureau of Public Service Training of the State Department of Education. Instruction and discussion of various public personnel problems will be undertaken in the afternoon and evening by members of the staff of the State Civil Service Department.

New York State Training Bureau Establishes Bulletin

As "an informal periodic record of in-service training progress in state and local government in the state of New York" the Bureau of Public Service Training of the State Education Department has instituted a mimeographed bulletin, beginning with June, developed at the request of a recent state training personnel conference. Albert H. Hall, chief of the bureau, is the editor.

Detroit Transit Strike Ends

A strike of 4,000 street-car and bus operators on Detroit's city-owned transit system, which began August 20, was ended on August 24 when the striking A. F. of L. union accepted the city's proposal to hold an election among the system's 5,500 employees to determine whether the majority supported the A. F. of L. or the C. I. O. The strike had been called to prevent the latter organization from using bulletin boards in car-barns and offices, in its effort to win members. The election was held from 7 A.M. on August 26 until the following morning, and resulted in a vote of 3,076 for the A. F. of L. union and 1,925 for the State, County and Municipal Workers of America (C. I. O.). The city agreed that the winner of the election will have exclusive right to represent the employees subject to court approval.

The C. I. O. membership drive is expected to continue, with the prospect of another election in April 1942, when the present contract expires.

Michigan Adopts Urban Redevelopment Law

Legislation to encourage the rehabilitation of blighted urban areas was passed at the recent session of the Michigan legislature and was signed by the Governor on June 16. The act (No. 250 of the Public Acts of 1941) is patterned closely after the similar law in New York State,[1] and provides for the formation of private urban redevelopment corporations to which municipalities may grant powers of condemnation and tax limitation for ten years or less, offset by restrictions on earnings.

Four Year Terms for Georgia Officials

A constitutional amendment adopted in Georgia in June, increasing the governor's term from two to four years, brings the number of states to adopt the longer term to twenty-five, according to the Council of State Governments. Twenty-two states give their governors two-year terms and New Jersey is unique with a three-year term.

Other constitutional officers in Georgia, including the treasurer, attorney-general, secretary of state, and comptroller-general, will also serve four-year terms under the amendment, which is effective beginning with the 1943 term. The term of the state superintendent of schools will run concurrently with the governor's.

[1]See the REVIEW for July 1941, p. 435.

Conventions This Fall

The twenty-eighth annual conference of the International City Managers' Association will be held at the Hollywood Beach Hotel, Hollywood, Florida, November 23-27. Defense, management, in-service training, planning, personnel, and finance will be among the topics of discussion.

The American Public Works Association holds its forty-seventh annual conference October 26-29 at the Roosevelt Hotel, New Orleans, Louisiana. A wide range of topics relating to public works and public services will be covered by the program.

The Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada holds its thirty-third annual meeting October 27-30 at the Hotel Roosevelt, Jacksonville, Florida. Urgent questions such as salary adjustment plans, positive recruitment programs, and many other problems made more pressing by the defense situation, will be taken up.

The twenty-sixth National Recreation Congress is planned for September 29-October 3, inclusive, in Baltimore, Maryland, by the National Recreation Association. Representatives of agencies concerned with public recreational activities will participate in and benefit from a varied program.

The American Municipal Association, the national federation of state leagues of municipalities, will hold its eighteenth annual conference in the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, October 22-24.

Twelve regional institutes for elective officials and heads of municipal departments will be held from September 12 to December 5 by the New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials and affiliated agencies. Each will comprise a morning and an afternoon session. Lectures on new municipal developments, municipal problems, national defense and training will be given, together with presentations and discussion of local questions by the officials attending. Each institute will be held in a different municipality.

Public Works Reserve Conferences

The last of a series of conferences of federal and state agencies, in various parts of the country, to facilitate plans for a huge public works program to be ready whenever the defense emergency may be over and military preparations relaxed, was held in New York City August 18-20. Public Works Reserve, which is being financed by a WPA grant of $2,500,000, is in process of preparing a complete list or inventory of public improvements or facilities that state and local governments consider desirable or needed, together with plans and estimates. Jacob Baker, coördinator of this activity, declared that public works expenditures of probably $10,000,000,000 annually for five years would be needed to cushion the economic shock of a cessation of war conditions affecting this country.

Governors' Conference Considers Defense Problems

At the thirty-third annual meeting of the Governors' Conference, held in Boston and Cambridge, Massachusetts, June 29 through July 2, the chief executives of twenty-eight states assembled for face-to-face discussion of urgent questions affecting the states individually and collectively—defense preparations overshadowing everything else. Various aspects of that problem were covered in addresses by the governors of New York, Alabama, Michigan, New Hampshire, Kansas, Maryland, Maine, Ohio, Rhode Island, Nebraska, Oregon, and Virginia, and by Secretary of the Navy Knox and Director LaGuardia of the Office of Civilian Defense. The executive committee for the ensuing year is headed by Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Roundup—

HAS the defense program created problems in your community—social, economic, or political—which have not been solved? If so, get a copy of *Your Town and Defense,* a digest published by the **American Association for Adult Education,** which sells for ten cents. In clear simple style it outlines the defense problems faced by a typical American town and suggests, if not complete answers, at least an intelligent way for lay citizens to attack them.

Another useful aid for the citizen struggling to find his way in the confusion of the defense picture is the **National League of Women Voters'** leaflet, *The Battle of Production.* In addition to a very readable text on various aspects of the defense program, there is an excellent glossary containing definitions of defense terms seldom found elsewhere and an organization chart of the federal defense setup. The pamphlet is brought up to date frequently and sells for ten cents. . . . As an aid to its state and local groups which are engaged in a strenuous publicity campaign to "Win the Battle of Production," the National League has also issued a small leaflet in question-and-answer form, *Strikes and the Citizen,* which we found particularly clear and well balanced.

We have recently received an unusually interesting and well put together government report from Barrington, Illinois, entitled *Know Your Township and Village.* We mention it here because instead of being issued by the town or village, as is generally the case, it was published by the **Barrington Countryside Association** in coöperation with the **Barrington League of Women Voters** and the **Civic League of Barrington.** . . . Organizations eager to increase the interest of citizens in their local government would do well to sponsor an equally complete and thorough report in their own communities.

The July issue of the *Independent Woman* tells the story of the two prize-winning projects in the **National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs'** achievement contest. First place in the over 10,000 population class went to Phoenix, Arizona, where the Business and Professional Women's Club led the way in establishing a badly needed community council. The winner for smaller communities was the Russell, Kansas, club which undertook a successful educational compaign to raise the level of voting, particularly by reducing the number of ballots which customarily were thrown out as invalid.

A conference on town financial problems was held at the University of Connecticut on July 29. The program was arranged at the request of the **Connecticut Federation of Taxpayers' Associations** and dealt with all aspects of the financial problems faced by Connecticut towns, including a talk by the federation president on "Contributions Citizens' Organizations Can Make to a Solution of Town Financial Problems."

The **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy** is issuing a new and most attractive news-sheet—*Civic Affairs, Current Information on Your Local Government.* Printed on both sides of a legal-size sheet of brightly colored paper, *Civic Affairs* appears once a month and contains succinct, well written comments on local government problems. Also included are advice to citizens on legislative proposals and a list of forthcoming events in the local government field under the heading "Watch the Daily Newspapers for."

R.M.W.

Toledo's Municipal League Revises Personnel, Program

The Municipal League of Toledo has reorganized.

It has selected ten new board members, a new president, a new executive secretary, announced a new program, and has taken over the work of the Citizens Tax League which will pass out of existence.

All this by way of preparation for carrying on the work to which the *Toledo Times* pays this editorial tribute:

"Not a small part of the credit for Toledo's success in cleansing and keeping clean its municipal house must be given to the Municipal League of Toledo. It has never wavered in its support of the system, and it was always the first to rise to the defense against selfish attacks which the administration, because of its very nature, could answer only with its record.

"A five and one-half year record without a stain must be continued. That is what the Municipal League [has] voted to do. . . . "

New president is M. H. McFellin, civic and business leader and an active worker in the old City Manager League, predecessor of the Municipal League.

The new executive secretary is Ronald E. Gregg, former chief investigator for the governor of Pennsylvania into alleged disfranchisement of electors in Philadelphia, one-time teacher in the Wharton School of Finance, and a former researcher of the Pennsylvania Economy League.

Before accepting his present assignment Mr. Gregg served fifteen months in Toledo as secretary of the Toledo chapter of the Citizens' Tax League which is now being merged with the Toledo Municipal League.

The Municipal League's board of directors has issued a new statement of policy under which the League will discontinue its former practice of endorsing a group of candidates for council and campaigning for their election.

The board states its new program as follows:

"During the last two or three years the Citizens' Tax League has rendered an exceptionally valuable public service in making governmental surveys and reports for the Board of Education and county officials. It now seems advisable that the Municipal League continue and carry forward the fact-finding and citizen educational work of the Citizens' Tax League, so that there may be no unnecessary duplication of effort.

Program Outlined

"The board of directors of the Municipal League of Toledo, at the annual meeting today, adopted the following program of activities:

"1. The league in the future will devote its efforts to a careful study and analysis of local government affairs and make factual surveys, both general and limited in scope, related to specific problems as they may arise from time to time and make the findings and reports based upon such factual information available to the public officials and employees and to the citizenry in general.

"2. The league has discontinued its policy of endorsing a group of candidates for council and of carrying on a campaign for their election. Instead, the league will study and report to the citizenry, as need arises, the duties and requirements of various public offices and the established record and qualifications of candidates for these offices.

"3. The league reaffirms its loyalty to the principles of the Toledo city charter and the council-manager form of government established thereby, and to the principles of economy and efficiency in all local government activities, and the league will at all times endeavor to keep the citizens of Toledo fully informed

on major problems in order that they may so act, in a nonpartisan manner, as to foster and defend good government in this community."

Two Michigan Cities Start Citizen Organizations

Port Huron and Dearborn, Michigan, are among cities in which new citizen organizations are vigorously promoting and supporting modern charter programs. Citizens Leagues have been organized in both cities by leaders who have been conferring with Lent D. Upson and W. P. Lovett of Detroit, Walter J. Millard of the National Municipal League, and others.

The Port Huron citizen program was brought to a climax of public interest through a dinner meeting attended by three hundred officials, citizens, and civic leaders. The principal address was made by Secretary Lovett of the Detroit Citizens League on the subject: "Where Do We Go from Here?" The league has begun a campaign for a thousand members.

Dearborn has suffered many years from diffusion of authority under the so-called weak-mayor, strong-council plan of government. Even the heavy tax payments of the Ford Motor Company have furnished little civic advantage in the city government. On the contrary, this factor frequently has been cited as one of the difficulties exploited by selfish political groups.

The newly organized citizens league in Dearborn expects to file petitions calling for a general election November 4 on the question of general charter revision. A charter commission of nine members will be chosen at the same election. The *Dearborn Press* and Detroit newspapers are giving the movement encouragement. It is realized that to be permanently effective the new Citizens League must be widely representative of all citizen interests and must plan and finance its work on a long-time basis. The city manager plan of government is one of several ideas already considered in the preliminary campaign.

WILLIAM P. LOVETT
Detroit Citizens League

Estes Park Conference Uses Dual Approach to Government

The third annual Citizens' Conference on Government at Estes Park, Colorado, this year for the first time devoted several days to round table discussions of government from the administrator's point of view. Customarily the conference devotes itself exclusively to the citizen's approach.

The first three days were devoted to an Institute of Government Management, designed specifically for government executives and workers. Four round tables discussed the following subjects: government responsibility for public welfare, government's place in the guidance of youth, merit and tenure in public personnel, and increasing the effectiveness of financial controls.

Among the principal speakers and commentators were Ewan Clague, director, Bureau of Employment Security, Washington, D. C.; Fred K. Hoehler, executive director of the American Public Welfare Association; Emery Olson, dean of the School of Government at the University of Southern California; Carl Chatters, executive director of the Municipal Finance Officers' Association; and Howard P. Jones, secretary of the National Municipal League and civil service commissioner of New York State.

Conference round tables during the last three days of the week were developed around similar themes, but with the layman's viewpoint receiving earnest attention. They covered five subjects: local government, national defense—how do we pay for both?; re-examining the

nation's public welfare program; centralizing the administration of state and local finance; qualified personnel for elective and appointive offices; and the citizen re-examines our publicly supported schools.

As in previous years the conference—and the institute as well—was in charge of Dr. A. D. H. Kaplan, director of the Department of Government Management of the University of Denver's School of Commerce. Master of ceremonies for the general assemblies was George V. Denny, Jr., president of Town Hall, Inc. Among the civic leaders who participated were: Clarence Francis, president of General Foods Corporation; Robert J. Watt, international representative of the American Federation of Labor; Isador Lubin, economic advisor of the Office of Production Management; Eugene Staley of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; and Emmett F. Connely, president of the Investment Bankers Association.

Proceedings Published

The chief purpose of both the conference and the institute is to bring together representatives of various important groups in the American body politic, to give them ample opportunity to present their convictions and opinions in friendly, intelligent debate, and to try to find the middle ground on which Americans may stand united in the struggle to preserve our way of life.

Each year the proceedings of the conference are made available in book form for distribution to the registered participants and for sale to others who may be interested. This year two publications will be issued, one for the Institute of Government Management and one for the Citizens' Conference on Government Management. Both should be available in the late fall.

FRANK C. CROSS
Department of Government
Management, University of Denver

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Minnesota Counties Struggle with Welfare Problems

Legislature provides committee to study solution

IN THE field of county government the 1941 Minnesota legislature was involved primarily with problems relating to welfare and relief and appropriated $5,000 to finance a committee in the further study of their solution.

It increased the size of the county welfare boards from five to seven and made the county commissioners *ex officio* members. Employees of the welfare boards were placed on a merit basis. The smaller municipalities within a county now are permitted to coöperate in administering relief, and counties are allowed to join the federal government in administering the surplus commodity stamp plan. Counties are permitted also to request federal funds to replace tax revenues lost through federal resettlement and rehabilitation projects.

Proposals to increase state aid to counties for old-age assistance, public health nurses, and for dependent children were defeated. Also defeated were proposals to cancel taxes on property owned by recipients of old-age assistance and to permit counties to borrow for relief without referendum vote.

Westchester Board Shows Reluctance in Reform

The Westchester County, New York, Board of Supervisors recently voted to submit to the voters a charter amendment that would create fundamental changes in the structure of the board, but made plain that it did not favor the

principles embodied in the proposal.[1]

The plan as finally drafted divides Westchester into eight districts which would send one member each to the county board and one district embracing the city of Yonkers which would send three. Thus a board of eleven would replace the present governing body of forty-four members. Excluding Yonkers, which has a population of 142,598, the population of the remaining districts would vary from 38,575 to 64,283. The towns and cities would remain untouched except that town supervisors would be divested of their county functions. The proposed amendment will be submitted to the voters of the county at the general election in November.

When adopting the plan the board approved a special committee's report which stated: "The plan proposed, as well as any other plan, will be unfair to many towns and cities in Westchester County because of the restrictions contained in the county charter." Although board members opposed the plan by declaring it destroyed home rule, they nevertheless rejected the request of its chief sponsors that final action be held in abeyance to permit citizens to study and criticize details of the board's final draft. The request was denied with the explanation that since most of the recommendations of various sponsors of board reform had been embodied in the proposal, it would not be necessary to allow further time for study of the plan submitted.

The amendment has the support of the Westchester League of Women Voters, the Westchester Federation of Women, the Federation of Westchester Taxpayers Associations, and other civic groups. Formation of a "Citizens Home Rule Committee" to combat the amendment has recently been announced.

[1]See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1941, p. 444.

Taxation and Finance
Edited by Wade S. Smith

Colorado Reorganizes Its Revenue Administration

New code integrates scattered tax functions

THE most sweeping provisions of the "Administrative Code of 1941," enacted by the 1941 Colorado legislature, authorized comprehensive reorganization of state revenue administration under one "director" to be named by the governor and approved by two-thirds of the senate. For operating purposes the act became effective July 1.

The Department of Revenue took over administrative functions relating to all taxes authorized by the state except for certain activities incident to handling death, gift, and corporation capital stock taxes, and certain locally enforced measures. It also assumed partial responsibility for supervising local tax administration functions.[1] In addition the law charged the department with "collecting" numerous other revenues, including fees for practically all licenses, permits, and special services—of which the state has a large number.

Experts Aid

Even before Mr. F. R. Carpenter[2] took active charge as director of revenue, he had arranged with experienced consultants[3] to aid in working out a

[1]Equalization and utility assessment jobs, however, are still to be within the purview of the civil service Tax Commission.

[2]Formerly director of grazing in the federal Department of the Interior.

[3]The writer was assisted in this work by Messrs. Dansie and Christensen of the Utah Tax Commission, Dr. Don C. Sowers of the University of Colorado, and

plan of operations. The planning "team" started its work June 2 and 3 and was thus forced to plan and set up administrative machinery in less than one month.

Structurally, the plan designed differs from those operative in other states in a number of respects—most of them dictated by the statute or by other local conditions. Primary line responsibility for discharging the obligations of the department is lodged in two divisions, one of which is in charge of all audit and other technical tax work and the second in charge of all administrative routine—both for the Department of Revenue functions and for those of outside agencies. The former includes three units, a legal entity (as required by statute), a Bureau of Motor Vehicles (in four sections), and a Bureau of Taxation (in which are three tax sections with an integrated audit program). The division of administrative services provides for sections handling mail, cash, accounts, collections, proving, files, and miscellaneous services.

Housekeeping and Staff Units

In addition, there is a general staff service and a general fiscal and personnel agency. The former handles statistics, general research, and publicity under the direct oversight of the director. The latter is similarly in charge of the department's budget, costing, purchasing, stenographic pool, personnel and payroll work, and like functions. These two units, however, perform essentially housekeeping and staff activities. The actual handling of tax work, as already indicated, is centered in the two divisions previously described.

One limiting factor under the Colorado constitutional civil service setup is the possibility of securing personnel fitted for the peculiar requirements of a modern tax department. However, with the coöperation of the Civil Service Commission, though no special examinations have been offered (save for auditors and field collectors), appointments have been made for four key positions. All are provisional civil service appointees, however, and must take competitive examinations within six months from July 1.[4] Each must stand first on the examination or be replaced.[5]

Collection Problems

Another problem confronted by the department—and not yet entirely solved—is that of handling the numerous collections of petty amounts for other state agencies. One provision of the statute prohibits collection of any money by persons who have to do with audit work. Another authorizes deputization of other departments under certain circumstances. The department has been forced for lack of time to deputize certain licensing agencies and in effect has authorized them to mix policing with collecting functions. There seems to be no great technical problem involved in the working out of this anomalous position; but, unless it is done promptly, there may be considerable political difficulty.

Mr. Harold Singer, a recent graduate of the same institution.

[4]Indeed, all appointive Colorado administrative employees save three legally "confidential employees of the Governor's office," of which the director of revenue is one, must be civil service appointees.

[5]Since the text of this note was prepared, the Civil Service Commission has taken the position that eligibles were available on the basis of examinations held before enactment of the 1941 legislation and that therefore the four executives formerly approved were illegally employed effective August 15. Eligibles for three of the positions appear to have been certified from the same list.

Still a third administrative issue of significance is that of securing a larger audit staff and a reduced field collector staff. There have been thirty or forty of the former and nearly a hundred and fifty of the latter. Adjustment will be made in this distribution effective in part August 1. It is contemplated that competent auditors will prove scarce.

Notwithstanding these and other unsolved, or only partially solved, problems the Colorado Department of Revenue promises to take its place among the successful state tax administrations. If this good omen is borne out by subsequent developments, the integrated and successful department will replace one of the most scattered tax administrations still remaining January 1, 1941, in any state.

James W. Martin, *Director*
Bureau of Business Research
University of Kentucky

Tacoma Sets Finance Record

The city of Tacoma has set a new record for revenue bond prices. On August 27 it sold $4,000,000 1½ per cent and 3 per cent light and power revenue bonds due in one to twenty years at a net interest cost of 1.7488 per cent. This is an all-time record for revenue bonds, according to the *Daily Bond Buyer*, the most nearly comparable situation being a recent Kansas City, Kansas, issue of $3,243,000 water revenue bonds sold at a 1.90 per cent cost in July and placed with a single institution. The Tacoma bonds are part of an authorized $11,000,000 to finance a second hydro-electric development on the Nisqually River, scene of the city's first hydro-electric project. Tacoma's was the first municipal electric plant to be financed with revenue bonds, in 1910.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

A Notable P. R. Decision

Massachusetts ruling on constitutionality analyzed

THE last issue of this department, published in July, contained the news, just received, of the unanimous decision of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court holding P.R. as adopted by the city of Cambridge to be constitutional, thus clearing the way for the first use of P.R. in that city this fall.

The advance sheets of Chief Justice Field's opinion in the case[1] reveal a thoroughgoing refutation of objections which not only assures the constitutionality of P.R. and other systems of limited or preferential voting in Massachusetts municipalities but will be helpful in other states also.

Massachusetts does not have in its constitution the common provision that persons having certain qualifications shall have the right to vote "at all elections" or "for all officers" which served as the principal basis for adverse decisions on the constitutionality of P.R. in Michigan, California, and Rhode Island. However, the court granted that the broad powers of the legislature to prescribe or authorize different methods of electing municipal officers were subject to "those provisions of the constitution that guarantee 'equal protection of equal laws without discrimination or favor based upon unreasonable distinctions,'" and particularly to the guarantee in article 9 of "an equal right to elect officers," and in this connection proceeded to exam-

[1] *Andrew L. Moore* vs. *Election Commissioners of Cambridge*, June 23, 1941.

ine practically all of the objections that have been raised to the legality of P.R. in other states.

The court's observations will be quotable even in states with more specific provisions as to the right of suffrage. Though it pointed out the differences in the pertinent constitutional provisions, it attacked the reasoning of the adverse cases on P.R. and quoted frequently from the favorable court opinions on P.R. in New York and Ohio, on limited voting in Pennsylvania, and on preferential voting in New Jersey.

The petitioner for a mandamus to prevent the Cambridge election commissioners from proceeding with a P.R. election as prescribed in "Plan E" adopted last fall had claimed that P.R. violated both the constitution of Massachusetts and the constitution of the United States. The latter claim was dismissed with a brief discussion, referring to the Cleveland case[2] in which a similar claim was denied and the United States Supreme Court refused to intervene "for 'want of jurisdiction,' apparently on the ground that the case presented no substantial question under the constitution of the United States."

The case under the state constitution was discussed in great detail. The petitioner had claimed that P.R. was unconstitutional first because it did not give Cambridge voters the same voting rights as those of other cities and second because the principles of limited voting and preferential voting were claimed to be inequitable and discriminatory.

The court cited a number of decisions making it clear that election methods did not have to be the same in different cities.

[2] *Hile* vs. *Cleveland*, 107 Ohio St. 144, 152-153; S. C. 266 U. S. 582.

Single Vote Upheld

In discussing the objection to limited voting, of which P.R. is one form because it confines the voter to a single effective vote even though a number are being elected together, the court made this significant observation: "Under the provision for limited voting a voter has a more restricted right to vote but a greater likelihood that his vote will be effective in the election of a candidate than if he were permitted to vote for a number of candidates equal to the number of positions to be filled and the result were determined in accordance with the ordinary principles of majority or plurality voting."

Also the following: "The purpose of authorizing the election of officers of a city by the duly qualified voters therein is to permit such voters to be represented in the management of the city. It cannot be said to be unreasonable—however wise or expedient—to permit minority groups of such voters selected in a reasonable manner to be represented in such management. . . . It cannot rightly be said that the method by which the minority groups to be represented in the municipal council under Plan E are selected is necessarily unreasonable. Such representation is limited in Cambridge to the nine largest groups of duly qualified voters as disclosed by the ballots —the same number of groups as of members of the council to be elected. The selection of the groups to be represented is not based upon unreasonable distinctions. The groups are self selected. Each duly qualified voter expresses by his ballot his choice of the group with which he wishes to be associated for the purpose of being represented in the municipal council. All such voters have an equal right to make such a choice. Such choice by a voter resembles somewhat the choice

of a voter of the group with which he wishes to be associated in nominating candidates at the primary by enrolling with such group or party. . . . It also resembles somewhat the choice by a voter of a group with which he wishes to be associated in obtaining the printing of the name of a candidate on a ballot by the use of nominating papers. . . . These principles are incidents of the Australian ballot system, the constitutionality of which has been affirmed. . . . We conclude that Plan E cannot be struck down by reason of the inclusion therein of a provision for limited voting on the ground that such a provision is in itself unreasonable."

Preferential Ballot Also Valid

In discussing the preferential vote feature of P.R. the court made a statement supporting the validity of preferential voting even where, as in the case of officers specifically provided for by the constitution of Massachusetts, there is a requirement that "the person having the highest number of votes shall be deemed and declared to be elected": "The provision embodied in Plan E for preferential voting in city elections cannot be declared to be unconstitutional on the ground that it is in conflict with ordinary principles of plurality voting. Plurality voting is not required in such elections by any express provision of the constitution of the commonwealth. . . . However, city elections under Plan E are in accordance with the principle of plurality voting, subject to the provision of limited voting, if the choices of the voters, other than their first choices, as well as their first choices, are considered in the manner provided in the plan. The nine candidates receiving the largest numbers of effective votes counted in accordance with the plan are elected, as would be true in ordinary plurality voting."

In answer to the claim that the slight elements of chance involved in the usual P.R. provisions invalidate the plan, the court said that "a method of counting is not necessarily vitiated by the possibility of an element of chance in its application to some situations that may arise if, in general, equality among all qualified voters is maintained." In a careful analysis of the possibilities the court found that there was no fatal inequality involved and pointed out that "the statute contains careful provisions designed to exclude favoritism in counting or advantage to any voter on an arbitrary ground."

Equality of Treatment

Throughout the discussion the opinion emphasizes the equality of treatment of all voters under P.R. For example: "We cannot rightly say that it is so unreasonable as to be unconstitutional and beyond the power of the General Court [legislature], in the exercise of its legislative judgment and discretion, to provide for the representation of minority groups in the municipal council or to enlarge the possibility of a voter being represented therein by giving him an opportunity to express more than one preference among candidates for election thereto, even though his right to representation therein by the candidate of his first choice is somewhat diminished, so long as all duly qualified voters are treated alike. In this respect the provision for preferential voting and that for limited voting stand on the same footing."

Technically the Supreme Judicial Court did not make a final disposition of the case. It held that the trial judge in the Superior Court below had exceeded his powers in referring the case to it "upon the pleadings and without decision" and ordered a further hearing in the Superior Court. "However," said the Supreme Court,

"since the case has been fully argued on the merits and the public interest requires a speedy decision thereof, and since as matter of law upon the facts appearing in the record but one conclusion can be reached—without intending to establish any general rule of practice—we deem it 'appropriate that a statement . . . [of this conclusion] be made now for the guidance of the Superior Court upon its further hearing.'" The Superior Court was ordered to act "in accordance with this opinion" and told that "as a matter of law the only conclusion that can be reached upon this record is that the petition cannot be maintained and should be dismissed."

G. H.

Prospects Still Bright in St. Louis

The July issue of this department reported the sudden emergence of P.R. in St. Louis as a possible substitute for a ward plan proposal which had seemed slated for adoption as a cure for the regular one-party monopoly of the city council under the existing plan of majority elections at large.

On July 1 the special committee of the St. Louis Board of Aldermen had a hearing on the P.R. election proposal. Walter J. Millard, field secretary of the National Municipal League, Professor E. E. Hilpert of Washington University, Professor Paul G. Steinbicker of St. Louis University, Mrs. Rose Kerber of the League of Women Voters, and Mr. John J. Dowling of the Railway Mail Clerks urged that P.R. be submitted to the voters on September 16. The sole opposition was expressed by several Negro speakers, under the general leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who felt surer of getting representation under the ward plan.

A few days later the aldermanic committee reported that there was not enough time for the consideration of P.R. before the September 16 election. It indicated that P.R. deserved further study and had definite merits.

On September 16 St. Louis will vote on two amendments to its charter—one the merit system and the other the election of aldermen by wards. They require a three-fifths majority to pass. Mayor Becker has been quoted to the effect that, in view of the merits of P.R. and the objections to the ward system, he will not be able to support actively election by wards. The League of Women Voters has taken the same stand.

There is a well based hope that if the ward election proposal falls in September citizens of St. Louis will have a chance to vote on a P.R. proposal before the next aldermanic election in the spring of 1943.

Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J.
The Queen's Work, St. Louis

HAVE PUBLIC EMPLOYEES' THE RIGHT TO STRIKE?

(Continued from Page 528)

to surrender its ultimate right to strike as a consequence of its public employment. This is one great danger.

There is also another danger. The labor movement may, in order to preserve its freedom, resist the expansion of government activity, thus creating a disintegrating social trend by rendering government ineffective to meet the problems of the times. Both of these possibilities present infinitely greater threats to our society than the remote possibility of a labor dispute which might result in the temporary interruption of some government service.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

Municipal Management. By Thomas H. Reed. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1941. xii, 665. pp. $4.00.

From abattoirs to zoning, most college courses on city government cover in a year or a semester the whole municipal alphabet. Though variations in the approach to this dynamic subject are almost as numerous as our institutions of learning themselves, these courses run the whole gamut through historic growth, politics, councils, mayors, commissions, managers, metropolitan and other areal problems, intergovernmental relations, administrative organization and management, with emphasis on as many line activities as can be crammed into crowded class hours. Belgian paving blocks, street plans, fire fighting equipment, sewage purification, water filtration—these and other commonplaces of modern municipal functionalism pass in kaleidoscopic review. Techniques from the fields of engineering, public health, social work, police administration, and public recreation are added to the classroom docket.

In *Municipal Management* Dr. Reed proposes a halt in introductory municipal courses on the stress upon technical processes now employed in line departments. This, presumably, would be left to advanced seminars, to courses given by specialists, to pre-service and in-service training. Accordingly, he devotes more than half of his book to basic administrative relationships and to auxiliary technical services such as financial management, personnel administration, and legal advice. The balance is given over to principles and problems governing *management* of the operating services (police, fire, health, parks and recreation, welfare, housing, schools, libraries, public works and public utilities).

In punching out the underlying pattern of municipal administration, the author contributes some pungent observations on municipal executives *vis-à-vis* the public, the council, and department heads. With a sure touch he describes these delicate inter-relationships, drawing on his experiences as a city manager and as a consultant. The same blend of personal knowledge, true-story, suggestion and conclusion marks the treatment of finance and personnel. Measured opinions which do not equivocate, as well as facts, are set down with a flair for the frank and forthright.

Much of the book is orthodox and follows familiar directions. In holding out for the cash-receipt budget, Dr. Reed, as in other tight spots, fairly states that all authorities are not on his side. This characteristic crops out later when he recommends that administration of local public hospitals be put in the hands of departments of health. Acknowledging that this runs counter to some of the experts on hospital administration, he painstakingly quotes from the opposing camp.

Here as elsewhere in discussing line activities, the author adheres to the large view of concentrated responsibility and coördinated action, the "gold-dust" twins of efficient municipal management. But he recognizes that an equilibrium must be preserved between those who approach municipal administration from the over-all aspect of executive control and those who, concerned primarily with a specific function, seek independence or semi-independence through boards and other administrative paraphernalia. Budgets, purchasing, accounting, personnel, re-

search, and planning—all these elements are articulated as steps in the managerial process. Charts give a bird's eye view of the organizational picture. Based on the premise that public administration is an inductive science and not to be mastered by armchair generalization, the author has drawn his guide lines out of experience in city hall and in the field.

A. W. BROMAGE
University of Michigan

Democracy or Anarchy? A Study of Proportional Representation. By F. A. Hermens. Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame, *The Review of Politics*, 1941. xxx, 447 pp. $4.

Aided by a stipend granted by the Social Science Research Council, Professor Hermens of the University of Notre Dame during the past year was enabled to extend very greatly his earlier studies of proportional representation and thus to gather material for the expansion of his earlier articles into an average volume. To the chapters by the author, Dr. C. J. Friedrich of Harvard University has written an Introduction.

Because there had long existed a vital need for an intensive, perhaps exhaustive, study of the actual operation of P. R., the publication of this volume was anxiously awaited. The prepublication announcements supplied a basis for sanguine expectations. Although, by his articles, the author was already known as an ardent opponent of P. R., it was expected that in the publication of this full-length volume he would avail himself of the opportunity to subject his old conclusions to a critical re-examination and to supply his complete proof and documentation.

With admirable clarity and force, Professor Hermens restates and elaborates his case against P. R. and makes it a castigation almost demagogic in its sweep and severity. He expounds again the principles and merits of the majority plan. He incorporates a vast amount of statistics, testimony, and other data—the products of many months of industry. It is useful to have this fresh brief against P. R. and as its corollary the case for the majority plan. Even the one-track enthusiast for P. R. can profit greatly by their study. The valuable factual materials of the volume will be generally welcomed.

What make the volume disappointing and seriously mar its wider usefulness are the sweeping and almost reckless generalizations which the author permits to escape his inner scholastic censor as he proceeds to interpret his data and to correlate them with his theories. It would take a great deal more of substantial evidence and new historical facts than the author has mustered to make it appear plausible that P. R. is the *cause* of multiple parties or of parties based on economic differences or of radical parties, or "that P. R. is *the* Trojan Horse of Democracy," or "that the blow dealt to Radicals by the majority system is so severe that the evil is cured once and for all."

The facts of history as now recorded seem to show that the multiple-party system long ante-dated the adoption of P. R., that in Germany and Austria, for instance, there were more parties (including some rapidly growing radical ones) before the adoption of P. R. than afterwards; that Spain (among many examples) without P. R. had numerous parties including among others some that were radical and some that were based on economic elements; that in Great Britain (the native land of the majority system) the Labor party (a radical party) is a major party; that P. R. in the small democracies of Europe has been accepted as a vital instrument of popular government

rather than as an invading Trojan Horse.

Lack of space is hardly a sufficient excuse for the summary way in which the case of P. R. in American cities is dismissed on the basis of a few fragments of evidence and testimony.

This volume is not one for the uncritical and uninformed. In their hands it would be both misleading and dangerous. As a book on "P. R., the Trojan Horse of Democracy," its place is rather on the shelf of the specialist as a companion volume to one of the treatises on P. R., the panacea for all the ills of the state. To meet the general need it is to be hoped that an intensive, exhaustive, wholly objective study (or a series of such studies) will soon be made in this important phase of the problem of representation.

ARNOLD J. LIEN
Washington University
St. Louis

Government and the Needy—A Study of Public Assistance in New Jersey. By Paul Tutt Stafford. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1941. 328 pp. $3.

The history of public welfare administration in the state of New Jersey is illustrative not only of the main features of public welfare development in other states but also of many of the chief characteristics of the growth of government generally. The government has been forced into the welfare field willy-nilly. It has begged, borrowed, and taxed to get funds. It has been obliged to organize the disbursement of money, the accounting of funds, and the recording of the status of recipients; to develop an elaborate technique for determining eligibility for aid and the conditions requiring termination.

Historically in New Jersey the story begins with the undifferentiated treatment of poverty, physical disability, mental disability, and delinquency under the poor law inherited from England. Gradually segments of the needy were detached from the general mass and given special treatment by special agencies.

That division of labor and specialization which has become so prominent a part of modern life ran riot in welfare work with a consequent multiplication of public and private agencies each devoting itself to some special phase of welfare work. There has been consequent confusion, friction, overlapping, and duplication in welfare work complicated further by the participation of three levels of government.

It was inevitable that a movement for re-integration should begin. In New Jersey it started with the state Department of Institutions and Agencies set up in 1918. It is likely, however, that unification will proceed at both the level of overhead administrative organization and at the service level. The latter is exemplified in the New York City Department of Welfare's Richmond Welfare Center which is a unified district welfare office handling public assistance, aid to the aged, the blind, and dependent children.

Dr. Stafford gives a clear exposition of this development with a detailed analysis of the present system in New Jersey. It is his conclusion that: "There are probably not more than a score of laymen and policy-making political representatives in the entire state who know the present system's ramifications or can identify in a general way the various organizations involved." He further found that lay participation has been highly fruitful in New Jersey; that personnel qualifications—especially in smaller municipalities—were low; and that there has been a great lack of coördination in public works activities of the various

levels of government. Among his more important conclusions are: that the federal government should withdraw from all direct administration of welfare including work relief; that aside from federal grants and general nation-wide minimum standards, the states should be the centers of supervision and administration; that actual operations be carried on by local governments.

This is an excellent study well worth the attention of all persons interested in the subject. While one would hesitate to contemplate reading a similar work for each one of the forty-eight states, it is true that such studies for the more populous states of the union would serve to provide a wealth of material on problems and practices out of which to design more effective administration and more equitable welfare service.

HARVEY PINNEY
New York University

Additional Books and Pamphlets Received

Budgets

A Report on the Budget of the State of Tennessee for the Biennium July 1, 1941, to June 30, 1943. Nashville, Tennessee Taxpayers Association, Inc., 1941. 23 pp. mimeo.

The Rôle of Budgeting in Government. By Grover Wm. Ensley. New York, The Tax Foundation, 1941. 28 pp. mimeo.

Centralization

Centralized vs. Decentralized Government in Relation to Democracy. Review of the Arguments Advanced in the Literature of Various Nations. By Paul Studenski and Paul R. Mort. New York City, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941. vii, 69 pp. 75 cents.

The New Centralization. A Study of Intergovernmental Relationships in the United States. By George C. S. Benson. New York City, Farrar and Rinehart, 1941. xii, 181 pp. $1.00 college; $1.50 trade.

Defense

Consumer Knowledge Builds Defense: A Selected Bibliography of Available Pamphlet Materials. By Consumer Division, Office for Emergency Management. Washington, D. C., 1941. 62 pp. mimeo.

Defense and Living Costs. New York City, American Association for Adult Education, 1941. 19 pp. 10 cents.

The Rôle of the Los Angeles City Health Department in National Defense. By George Parrish. Los Angeles, City Board of Health Commissioners, 1941. 26 pp.

Employment

Development of Resources and Stabilization of Employment in the United States. By National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1941. ix, 409 pp. $1.20.

Man Meets Job—How Uncle Sam Helps. By Philip S. Broughton. New York City, Public Affairs Committee, 1941. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Police

Distribution of Police Patrol Force. By O. W. Wilson. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1941. 27 pp. $1.

Public Welfare

Cash Benefits under Voluntary Disability Insurance in the United States. By Elizabeth L. Otey. Washington, D. C., Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board, 1941. vi, 117 pp. 15 cents. (Apply to Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.)

Federal Aid and Public Assistance in Illinois. By Arthur P. Miles. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941. xv, 259 pp. $1.50.

Want in the Midst of Plenty. The Genesis of the Food Stamp Plan. By Ray Harvey. Washington, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1941. 35 pp. 50 cents.

Purchasing

Centralized Purchasing. A Sentry at the Tax Exit Gate (Revised). By Russell Forbes. New York City, National Association of Purchasing Agents, 1941. 38 pp. 75 cents (free to government officials).

How Government Buys: An Appraisal. By Albert M. Freiberg. Cambridge, Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University, 1941. 27 pp.

Purchasing Laws for State, County, and City Governments (Revised). By Russell Forbes. New York City, National Association of Purchasing Agents, 1941. 35 pp. 75 cents (free to government officials).

The State Purchasing Department: An Administrative Survey. By Alvin A. Burger and Thomas J. Graves. (Survey Report No. 2, Studies in the Efficiency of the New Jersey State Government.) Newark, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, 1941. 75 pp. mimeo. 25 cents.

Registration of Voters

Administration of Permanent Registration in the City of Philadelphia.[1] Report of The Governor's Committee to Investigate the Affairs of the Philadelphia Registration Commission. Philadelphia, 1941. 88 pp. mimeo.

Utilities

Municipally-Owned Electric Plants in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, 1941. 24 pp. mimeo.

Results of Municipal Electric Systems 1941. Record of 758 Cities under Municipal Ownership—Rates in Effect 1940-1941. Kansas City, Missouri, Burns & McDonnell Engineering Company, 1941. 428 pp. $5.00.

FUTURE FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT

(Continued from Page 510)

rise up in their might and bring their influence to bear in the direction of making their own local governments more up-to-date and businesslike. This is a task that is peculiarly appropriate for local defense councils. They are composed of influential and public-spirited community leaders who are committed to making contributions to national defense through local action. We have attempted to outline a type of local action that will come only through an aroused citizenry. It will mean making democracy work on the home front and it can feasibly bring about a sizable decrease in the tax burden.

In conclusion, we are rapidly entering a period of belt-tightening and sacrifice up and down the line. It will not be long before many of us will walk instead of ride; we will save electricity because, it is said, ten kilowatt hours saved means one pound of aluminum; we will probably be asked to content ourselves with lower temperatures in home and office to conserve oil and coal.

Has the time not come for us to take a look at the quality and character of this seven-billion-dollar business known as local government? At a time when the public debt and tax rates are rising to unheard of heights can we afford the waste incidental to the present conduct of local public affairs? If local defense councils, service clubs, and patriotic citizens want to contribute their bit to the "national total emergency," here is an opportunity at their very doors, one calling for devotion and self-sacrifice, as well as for a high order of intelligent and constructive leadership. Here, finally, is an opportunity to prove that democracy works where —to really amount to much it must work *first*—on the home front. As De Toqueville put it a century ago: "How can a populace, unaccustomed to freedom in small concerns, learn to use it temperately in great affairs?" It is within local institutions that we learn how to use and enjoy liberty and to practice self-government.

[1]For a discussion of this report, see p. 537, this REVIEW.